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Art. I.—*Episcopacy and Presbytery*. By the Rev. Archibald Boyd, M. A., Curate of the Cathedral Church of Derry.

THIS volume, as the author informs us, is the fruit of a controversy which has subsisted, for some time, between himself and four ministers of the presbyterian communion; and we have no doubt, from the cool acerbity which is mixed up with every train of his reasoning, that no Englishman who has ever boasted of being equal to four Frenchmen in war, has entertained this opinion with more assurance than the author of this book felt of his being a match for the four presbyterians whom he, as the knight-errant of episcopacy, has undertaken to demolish. The spirit of the work is not, indeed, violent; but there is in it a certain tone of contempt towards all who are not of the author's party, which will make the reader feel, if he be right-minded, that this is not the way in which religious controversies are likely to be, or ought to be settled.

Two years previously to the publication of this volume, it appears that Mr. Boyd wrote 'Letters on Episcopacy,' which produced the 'Plea for Presbytery,' by four ministers of the Synod of Ulster. The present work is a rejoinder to the 'Plea;' but the author states that he was anxious to combine with his 'refutation of the special arguments, a sufficient treatment of the general subject.' The book, therefore, is to be regarded as a defence of the most lofty, divine-right episcopacy; and we know of no generally readable volume, of moderate size, too, which contains so elaborate a discussion of this grand point in contro-

versy between the United English and Irish church, and the dissenters from its communion. No doubt, it will be considered by churchmen, especially of the Oxford school, as a very masterly work; and we are not prepared to deny that, in regard to talents and research, it is so. Probably it would be difficult to find any single book by which the high-flying exclusive episcopalian would more desire to be represented.

For our own part, we are content that the controversy of the present age should turn, as it mainly does, on grand principles; such as the relation of religion to the civil government, the materials of which the Christian church should be composed, the grounds of union between various denominations. We are less inclined to dispute on the points which divide presbyterianism in its different forms, from independency, or both these even from episcopacy merely as such. For what obstacle does the constitution of the Free Church in its present state, that of Congregationalism, and that of Moravianism, present to Christian union, the grand sign fixed on by Christ himself as the mark of the true catholic church? We believe that each of the three leading forms of church government may be found in connexion with equal degrees of piety and conscientiousness. So far are we from wishing to promote a spirit of controversy among Christians on the mere question of forms, that we should gladly hail any symptoms of intelligent mutual concession. Not, indeed, that, apart altogether from the question of establishments, we are very sanguine as to any speedy consolidation of denominations. The present educational movement shows that the several dissenting communities are by no means prepared for coalescence, in regard to the teaching of the young, the catechumens of the future churches. Had there been any very strong desire to pave the way for a new order of things as to union, what better conceivable opportunity than that which is at this moment presented, in the call which has taken place for the general and religious instruction of the people! This might have been made an excellent rallying point; and, in the *school* at least, where the youthful mind is to be trained, there might have been a platform of union for all evangelical Christians of every name; at least, for all those who are not under the trammels of an establishment. But religious education is taken up denominationally. The divisions of the Christian church have thus a fair chance of being handed down, with all their lines of demarcation, to the next age. Perhaps it was too much to expect otherwise, considering the actual state of education in Christian churches. The acts of a voluntary community must of course be expected to follow the general tone of thought and sentiment prevalent within it. Evidently



the public mind of the million who signed the death-warrant of the late government education bill, and of the millions more whom they represented, was not prepared for seizing upon the offered vantage-ground, and making it a lodgement from whence a mine might have been sprung, perhaps more unexceptionably than in any other way, for the final overthrow of the party walls of the Christian church. Such an opportunity may not return for ages. Facts prove, undoubtedly, that it is mere utopianism to imagine that Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, Presbyterians, Moravians, not to add evangelical Episcopalians, can all unite together in one grand school society; give an education to the rising population which shall include all that they mutually understand by the main doctrines of Christianity, without touching upon the distinctive peculiarities of any one denomination; and be content to draw supplies for replenishing their several churches from a common nursery of Christians, but not of parties. The infirmity of human nature, which magnifies its *own*, is clearly tending to another course. We cannot think, however, that much if any difficulty would have been encountered as to the question—what is to be taught? But it is to be feared that, for want of a certain kind of local and individual stimulus in the case of a more liberal attempt at combination, money, the sinews even of the holy war against ignorance and sin, would have been found wanting.

We must now return to Mr. Boyd. Our object will be to examine his main arguments for the divine right of episcopacy. In the chapter on the 'divine and apostolic institution of episcopacy,' the author begins by urging the argument derived from the constitution of the Jewish church. It is well known that Vitringa, Lightfoot, Grotius, Selden, and others, have supposed that the order of the apostolic churches was exactly assimilated to that of the synagogue. We have certainly, however, no statement or ordinance to this effect in the New Testament; and that this theory is too unqualified, is admitted even by episcopalians themselves. Indeed, the order of the Jewish synagogue has been forced into parallelism with different platforms of Christian church-government. Whoever wishes to see the result of attempts to maintain the theory that the synagogue was intended to be the precise pattern for the church, should read the conflicting opinions of Lightfoot and Vitringa, on some important points: for instance, on the office of the *Sheliach Tsibbur*, or angel of the congregation. Mr. Boyd gives his suffrage to the opinion that, 'in the Old Testament, and in the New, the chief priest is of one order, the priests of another,' and the Levites of another. Now if it be contended that the high-priest is to have his exact counterpart in the Christian church,

we can see the analogy fulfilled nowhere but in the Lord Jesus Christ himself. Any other supposition would lead us straight to Rome, where we find the professed universal bishop. Mr. Boyd, however, is quite indignant with this objection to the supposed identity of Jewish and Christian forms of the church on earth. He, at once, arraigns the motives which have induced his opponents to dissent from his opinions, and pronounces that 'the objection is based upon a wilful disregard of the fact that the analogy has been carried out in this respect to the letter.' Christ is truly, he says, the 'universal bishop,' but he has delegated his office upon earth to many co-equal members of the same order,' (episcopal bishops.) It appears, then, that the high-priest of the Jews adumbrated not only the head of the church himself, but all the prelates of the episcopal church, besides. Whether this is not a lame and far-fetched attempt to make up analogies, we leave our readers to determine.

What we would contend against is the extreme assumption that the synagogue is by divine right, or divine precedent, entitled to be regarded as in all respects the unalterable model of the Christian church. That this pattern has been so copied in any form of Christianity, it would be preposterous to assert. It is contradicted by historical and by standing facts. Nor have we, in the New Testament, any directions or precedents that can be even plausibly strained into the semblance of a divine warrant for such an assimilation of the Jewish and Christian churches. Still we are far from being prepared to deny that the general idea and plan of the first organized Christian assemblies was very naturally suggested by the synagogue. Hence Christian offices and functions were denoted by such terms as *presbyters* and *presbytery*, the synonymes of which already existed in Judaism. The council of elders, moreover, as in the synagogues, would appear a very suitable mode of government for Christian communities in the towns of the Roman empire, in which the pagans had been already familiarised with a civil administration by the *senate*, or the assembly of the *decuriones*. Accordingly, as far as we can trace the order of the first churches, we find, generally, a government vested in a number of individuals. The supposition, however, that the three orders of the episcopal clergy are only a reproduction of the orders of the Jewish ministry, and were so intended to be by Christ and his apostles, is given up by the most enlightened Episcopalians, among whom we may name Bishop Bilson, and Prebendary Townsend.

The author next takes up the bold position, previously assumed by archbishop Potter and others, that 'when Christ ordained a ministry, he formed it on the principles of the Episcopalian church.' Our readers may well ask, where we are to find any



basis for the hierarchies of Rome and England, in the four gospels? what resemblance there is between the fishermen of Galilee, and the mitred lords, who, 'by divine permission,' and by 'divine providence' have demanded the homage of governments and nations? what sort of deans, prebends, canons, archdeacons, and pluralist rectors, were the seventy, when they itinerated with their Master's message over the land of Judea? Mr. Boyd, however, sees, in the apostles, a divine institution of prelacy, and in the seventy disciples that of the order of priests. He argues this distinction from the names, 'the twelve,' and 'the seventy:' from the relation in which the former stood to their Lord, as those who were to 'be with him,' to be instructed 'in ecclesiastical principles,' as well as doctrinal truths, by his tuition; while the seventy were 'sent two and two before his face:' and from the greater extent of the apostolical commission, the world itself being the destined sphere of the apostolic dioceses, while the seventy were restricted to their own country. We confess that to us it appears that such an argument as this would prove any thing at discretion. The twelve were to be foreign missionaries, therefore, they were to be episcopal, yea, diocesan bishops: the seventy were to be home missionaries, therefore, they were to be of the order of priests! And why should the twelve be 'with their Lord,' but to learn *ecclesiastical principles*, which it seems the priests had less to do with! It is pity that Mr. Boyd did not point out to his readers the parts of our Saviour's discourses which treat of these principles; and he would have done an act of charity, in illuminating the darkness and obtundity of his opponents, of which he so often complains, if he had even condescended to show where is the precedent for church-rates, and other like benefits of the ecclesiastical system. But he sometimes thinks it below his dignity to take any trouble about the scruples of those who presume to question the divine right of his church. Witness the following remark:—

'It is almost humiliating to be obliged to notice the ground on which the pleaders for parity attempt to set aside the argument drawn from the extent of the apostolic commission. It is argued that 'it is an error to suppose that the extent of a preaching commission proves a superiority of rank; for that, on such a principle, the late venerable Ouseley, was primate and metropolitan of all Ireland.' I have yet to learn from what source, either ordinary or extraordinary, the commission of the missionary of methodism was derived; but I have not to learn whence that of the apostles was derived. It was never argued by me that mere itinerancy over many lands is indicative of ecclesiastical superiority; for, then, questionless, the most unwearied and industrious vagrant must claim the right at length to sit down in the highest room. But I do argue, that when the Lord



Jesus Christ assigns a contracted field for the visits of one body, and makes those visits only introductory to his own, and when he assigns an unlimited field for the labours of another body, and, withdrawing from the world himself, leaves that field, by solemn commission, in their hands, he did mark (and that most clearly) that the two bodies were distinct in their standing and position in the Christian church.'

The whole argument respecting the 'twelve,' and the 'seventy' appears to us so vague and baseless, that we shall content ourselves with a counter-quotation from a zealous episcopalian, Bishop Sage; who since, according to Mr. Boyd, he is in the direct apostolical succession from the twelve, may be supposed to be as well versed in 'ecclesiastical principles' as the curate of the cathedral of Derry, who is only in the succession of the 'seventy'. The passage occurs in Bishop Sage's 'Principles of the Cyprianic Age.'

'It is impossible to make it appear so much as probable that S. Cyprian believed the LXX as making a distinct college from that of the XII; to have had any standing office in the Christian church, in which they were to have a constant line of successors. On the contrary, it is to be presumed that one of his abilities and diligence in searching the evangelical records could hardly have missed to observe that which is so obviously observable in them. I mean, that the Christian church was not, could not, be founded till our Lord was risen, seeing that it was to be founded on his resurrection. Nothing more certain than that the commission which is recorded, Luke x., did constitute them (the seventy) only temporary missionaries, and that for an errand that could not be more than temporary. That commission contains in its own bosom clear evidences that it did not instal them in any standing office at all. Could the commission, which is recorded, Luke x., any more constitute the LXX standing officers of the Christian church, than the like commission, recorded Mat. x., could constitute the XII such standing officers? But it is manifest that the commission, recorded Mat. x., did not constitute the XII governors of the Christian church, otherwise what need of a new commission to that purpose after the Resurrection? Presumable, therefore, it is that S. Cyprian did not at all believe that the LXX had any successors, office-bearers in the Christian church, seeing it is so observable that they themselves received no such commission to be such office-bearers.'—p. 235.

Mr. Boyd pursues the argument for the divine and apostolic right of episcopacy as applied to the times of the apostles. He maintains that 'the apostles were as absolutely the bishops of the church, then, as the prelates of England and Ireland are of those branches of the church catholic now.' This he endeavours to prove by urging that they are represented, in the New Tes-

tament, as the regulators and inspectors of churches. They exercised authority, and maintained discipline: they visited and revisited the infant communities: Paul summoned the Presbyters of Ephesus to meet him at Miletus: Peter gave injunctions to Presbyters, as to their pastoral duties: St. John corrected the presumption of Diotrephes: the apostles maintained their position with firmness at Jerusalem: they managed the church's general and financial details. These facts, Mr. Boyd contends, were peculiar features of the episcopal character of the apostles. Besides these, they held the prerogative of confirming converts in the faith by the bestowment of spiritual gifts. They also ordained elders to their pastoral office.

Now we would candidly ask whether the above facts are sufficient to form any part of the basis of an exclusive theory of the church, in which the sole divine right of modern episcopacy is to be maintained? In what manner is this form of government to be deduced from these facts, as an essential form for all future churches? It is evident that when a new system of moral and religious discipline was to be inculcated on mankind, in connection with doctrines before unknown, there must have been some to take the lead. The apostles exercised many of the very functions which modern missionaries who have planted the gospel in heathen countries have necessarily had to exercise, whether these missionaries have been episcopalians, presbyterians, or independents. It is very true that the miraculous gifts with which the apostles were endowed, and which they were enabled to impart to others, constituted a splendid peculiarity in their case, which, together with their divine commission from Christ himself, places them in a position in which no modern missionary has ever stood. But, it is on this very account that we can safely affirm that, in strictness, the apostles have had no successors; none certainly in the sense which alone can avail to prove the dogma of 'apostolic succession.' It is, to say the very least, doubtful whether miracles are ever to be again expected in the church. Their end, or, at all events, a very important end, appears to have been already answered by them; that of establishing, on a lasting basis, the truth of the Christian religion as a communication from God. With the divine commission, itself miraculous, and with the *charismata*, or gifts themselves, the apostolic office, which was marked by them, has ceased also.

Mr. Boyd claims for *diocesan* episcopacy the same exclusive honour which he demands for episcopacy itself, or the doctrine of the essential *imparity* of ministers. He affirms that 'diocesan episcopacy, *i.e.* the assignment of a church officer endued with permanent authority over ministers, to a defined sphere of ac-



tion, was the system of church government under the very eye, and with the sanction, of the apostles themselves.' In this way, says our author, St. James was the first bishop of Jerusalem. Now, as to James, (whether one of the twelve or not, which is still matter of dispute,) what evidence have we that his office was otherwise than temporary, being adapted to the existing circumstances of the parent church? that, in short, he was any thing more than a missionary who was stationed at Jerusalem, during the absence of the apostles from that city? What intimation have we that his functions were similar to those of a modern bishop, or that he was intended to be a divinely-appointed example of episcopacy binding on all future ages? Accordingly, Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, in his lectures, candidly remarks: ' We know little of the constitution of the primitive church; I by no means intend to affirm that the office which he (James) bore, was analogous to that of bishop in later times.' That the first inspired missionaries of Christianity should frequently intrust an infant community of believers whom they had collected, to the more special superintendence of some one eminent and tried individual, was perfectly natural, often perhaps necessary: modern and ordinary missionaries must frequently do the same. But what proof is this, unsupported by explicit evidence, of the establishment, in the primitive church, of the alleged permanent and absolutely essential ordinance of an *impairity of order* among ministers: for it is not even asserted that any rules are given for such an arrangement in the New Testament? The authoritative control of one order of Christian ministers over another, is so unlike the whole genius of the gospel, it enters so deeply into the entire structure of the church, and draws so largely upon principles in human nature which are sometimes awkward to manage, that nothing less than an intelligible divine warrant for such a constitution can avail to render it obligatory upon the consciences of Christians, as the high-church party wish it to be considered.

Mr. Boyd, of course, regards Timothy and Titus as notable prototypes of hierarchical dignity and of diocesan rank and power; and he labours hard to prove that their cases are quite decisive of the divine superiority of the third order of the clergy. He pronounces it impossible to read the epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus without coming to the conviction that they were altogether distinguished from ordinary presbyters, by the functions which they were directed to perform. On the other hand, more moderate, though very learned episcopalians, have admitted that there is not sufficient ground for regarding Timothy and Titus as possessed of diocesan rank, founded on a distinction of order; but that they were, in fact, evangelists,



that is, missionaries, with such directions from the apostle Paul as were suited to the emergencies of the churches in which they sojourned. No less eminent an advocate for episcopacy than Whitby, after stating, in his preface to the epistle to Titus, that he 'can find no intimation in any writer of the first three centuries that Timothy and Titus bore the name of bishops,' adds :

'I assert that, if, by saying that Timothy and Titus were bishops, the one of Ephesus, the other of Crete, we understand that they took upon them these churches or dioceses, as their fixed and peculiar charge, in which they were to preside for the term of life, I believe that Timothy and Titus were not thus bishops. For, first, both Timothy and Titus were evangelists, and therefore were to do the work of an evangelist. Now the work of an evangelist, saith Eusebius, was this, to lay the foundations of the faith in barbarous nations, to constitute them pastors, and having committed to them the cultivating of these new plantations, they passed to other countries and nations. Secondly: As for Titus, he was only left at Crete, to ordain elders in every city, and to set in order the things that were wanting; having, therefore, done that work, he had done all that was assigned to him in that station: and therefore St. Paul sends for him, the very next year, to Nicopolis, Tit. iii. 12. And so, according to Bishop Pearson's Chronology, he was left at Crete, A.D. 64, and sent from thence, A.D. 65. As for Timothy, St. Paul saith, he exhorted him to abide at Ephesus, when he went into Macedonia. Now, as he writes to the church at Philippi, A.D. 62, that he hoped shortly to be with them, so, saith Bishop Pearson, he went thither, A.D. 64, and wrote his first epistle to him, A.D. 63. Two years after this he sends for him to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 9. 21, and there he continued, as the ancients conjecture, till the martyrdom of St. Paul. Now, I confess, that these two instance, absolutely taken, afford us no convincing arguments for a settled diocesan episcopacy, because there is nothing that proves they (Timothy and Titus) did, or were to exercise these acts of government rather as bishops than as evangelists.'

Mr. Boyd adduces several authorities by way of shewing that the term 'bishop' was applied to Timothy and Titus by the voice of antiquity; but none of his quotations are from writers who flourished previously to the fourth century, when already all history had been looked at through the optics of diocesan episcopacy, which had been universally established; so that the term 'bishop' had become fully associated with its present meaning. Whitby's remark, therefore, that there is no evidence of a very early date proving that Timothy and Titus were spoken of as bishops, in the ecclesiastical sense, remains unrefuted. We take the true theory to be, that these distinguished ministers of Christ were appointed by the apostles to attend to the affairs of the churches in given localities, just as

any other pious and competent Christian men might have been. Any ordinary pastor of a village-church might, in *their* circumstances, so far as we can understand, have sustained the same functions which they exercised, without any distinctive change in his official order, or his relation to the apostolic church; and after setting in order the affairs of Ephesus or Crete, he might have returned to his humble pastorate in any other locality of the Christian world.

Our author does not appear to us sufficiently to submit the question of the divine right of episcopacy to the test of scripture. We know how very early gross corruption became rampant in the church: the fact, therefore, that lofty notions of episcopal prerogative, and of the necessity of an episcopal construction of the church early prevailed, is no decisive argument for the claim itself, which is so bold and so exclusive, that we can accept nothing less than the same evidence of its validity which we have for the generally admitted doctrines and observances of Christianity. When once we have travelled beyond the record of the New Testament, it should be remembered that we have left the region of inspiration. There can be no dispute that what the *Fathers* say is, at all events, but a human *opinion*; or a testimony to some fact which must be examined without any necessary detriment to their veracity, according to the usual laws of evidence. It is plain enough that the scope which was given for infirmity, fanaticism, and prejudice, and even worse principles, to display themselves under so potent an impulse as that which the new religion communicated to the human mind, left even the best of men liable to fall into gross errors, and often unintentially to misinterpret facts. Tertullian, who died early in the third century, writes—(*de baptismo*) that external unction, after baptism, ‘spiritually profits.’ Cyprian, who lived about the middle of the same century, speaks in the same way—(*Epist.* 70). With this anointing, signing with the cross was connected, ‘that the soul may be fortified,’ says Tertullian—(*de Resurrec. Carn.*) Crescens and other bishops who were present in the synod of Carthage, about the year 256, judged the right of *exorcism* necessary in certain cases previously to baptism.—(*Act. Conc. Carth. ap. Cyp.*) Indeed this practice appears to have been introduced before the end of the second century. Contrary to scripture-fact,\* and the genius of apostolic doctrine, baptism was held, in itself, to possess the mysterious, sacramental efficacy which is now claimed for it in the church of England.—(*Sedatus in Act. Concil. Carthag. ap. Cyp.*—*Tertull. de Bapt.*—*Cypr. Epist.* 70.). Prayers

\* E. g. Simon Magus, Acts viii : compare 1 Pet. iii. 21 ; Tit. iii. 5 ; Phil. iii. 3.

and oblations for the dead also became common about this period.—(*Tert. de Exhort. Castit. c. 11*). Again, Clement of Alexandria, and his contemporary Tertullian, as also Origen, attach some importance to praying towards the east—(*Clemens. Alex. Strom. lib. 7*.—*Tertull. Apol. c. 16*. *Origen de Orat. § 21* :)—hence a report was current among the heathen, as Tertullian informs us, that the Christians worshipped the Sun. He also says that, on certain Lord's-days, and at certain festivals, 'it is a sin to worship kneeling.'—(*de Coron. Milit.*) In Africa, infant communion was practised; and Cyprian records an instance of the wine of the Eucharist being forcibly poured down an infant's throat by the deacon. (*de Lapsis § 20*.) These instances, out of a multitude, may suffice to show that we must not imagine that it is any proof of a practice being in harmony with the simplicity of the gospel, much less of divine appointment, that it is recorded or even advocated by the Fathers. As honest men, they may be entitled to our credit for veracity and good intention: as to *facts*, where they had the means of knowing the reality, we may respect their testimony: but the more they are read, the more will it appear how different their writings often are from the sobriety and the simplicity of the language of inspiration.

When we consider the genius of Christianity with respect to externals, as manifested on several important occasions of practice in the apostolic churches, we are certainly not led to expect the rigid formalism of any one unalterable detail as to outward modes of observance. We find nothing in the records of the New Testament which so far assimilates Christianity to Judaism. It was the spirit of this preparatory economy to reduce all things to one model, and to bring every son of Abraham under the same circumstantial discipline. But the Mosaic spirit of uniformity was evidently not found in the new religion; and Christianity, though emerging from the very heart of Judaism, presented to the world a far less formal, and more spiritual element. In all mere externals, respecting which any question arose by which we are enabled to see the application of principles, we find no appearance whatever of a design to require uniformity. When Jews and Gentiles became Christians, the former were not to impose any rites which they themselves retained on the latter, nor were the latter to prohibit the Jews from following theirs. No man was to '*judge*' another 'in meat or drink,' or in respect of 'a feast, or of the new moon, or of sabbaths.' (*Col. ii. 16*.) Examples will be too familiar to our readers to require detail. We need only name the decree of the church at Jerusalem exempting the semi-Jewish Christians from observances which the Hebrew Christians of Judea sought



to impose on them, the liberty that was allowed in regard to meats prohibited in the Mosaic law, and meats that had been offered to idols.

We have no evidence that this latitude, as to things not essentially spiritual, was restricted from finding a place in the form and order of the government of the first churches. It is by no means certain that in this respect there was a perfect uniformity in details, even in the time of the apostles. Certain *principles*, however, seem everywhere to have prevailed. No less eminent an episcopalian than Barrow, thus writes on this subject, in his 'Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church':

'Each church did separately order its own affairs, without recourse to others, except for charitable advice, or relief, in cases of extraordinary difficulty and urgent need. This appeareth by the apostolical writings of St. Paul and St. John to single churches, wherein they are supposed able to exercise spiritual power for establishing decency, removing disorders, correcting offences, deciding causes, etc. This *αὐτονομία* and liberty of churches, doth appear to have long continued in practice.'

As to the details of church government, it is natural first to inquire by what names the parties holding office are distinguished in the New Testament. Many of the highest authorities in Mr. Boyd's own church have candidly acknowledged that no stress can be laid on these names in support of the exclusive claims of episcopacy. Bishop Burnet, and Doctors Reynolds and Holland, who were both formerly professors of divinity at Oxford, expressly state that the terms '*bishop*' and '*presbyter*' mean the same thing. Bishop Hoadley, Dr. Hammond, and many others might be named, as admitting that the two terms are used promiscuously in the New Testament. The same words are declared to be synonymous in the work entitled, 'The Institution of a Christian Man,' published in 1536, and approved by the king, parliament, and clergy.

And can a single passage of the New Testament be adduced, or any series of passages, which could legitimately lead to the conclusion that one bishop or presbyter (for any one who will take the pains to examine, will find that they are identical) must necessarily and formally have more power, and a higher dignity, than others, either in a single assembly of Christians having more than one pastor, or among a number of associated societies? Though we should concede that a disparity in moral influence might sometimes naturally arise from circumstances, and that the recognition of it was not unchristian; we still ask where we are to find convincing evidence that the apostles made the formal distinction, a distinction essential to the order of the

church? Mr. Boyd ventures to be so much more explicit than these holy and inspired men, as to pronounce, from the cathedral of Derry, the judgment that churches not episcopal 'cannot claim to be resting upon the foundation of apostles, or to have Jesus Christ himself for their ecclesiastical corner stone.' The manner in which our author gives an episcopal colouring to every thing in the gospels and epistles, and finds everywhere the garb of an ecclesiastical formalism, has repeatedly reminded us, while we are writing, of a huge picture which we saw, some years ago, in the gallery of the *Louvre*, representing the marriage at Cana; in which the disciples and our Lord himself are seated at the wedding dinner metamorphosed into popish priests, wearing the paraphernalia of high mass, and presenting the same showy colours and embroidery which are familiar to all who have strayed into a Romish church: if we are not mistaken, some of the party also had the tonsure. No doubt the good catholics among the Parisians think all this is as it should be; and imagine that copes and albs and scapulars, 'white red, and grey,' are to be dated back to the rise of Christianity: but this ecclesiastical lesson first of all produces a smile in those who are in the secret, and then, as may be supposed, a sigh over the fact of the prevalence of a superstition which can command the talents of the artist to embody it, and set it forth to all eyes. To make the piece complete, the Saviour should have been represented with the triple crown; and this would have been as true to history, as the other parts of the picture. The church towards which Mr. Boyd's Tractarian friends have expressed so much reverence and sisterly affection, does not make episcopacy more essential than he himself does; the only difference being that which relates to the filling up of the whole hierarchical idea by having a pope: for while Mr. Boyd, in his usual high church phraseology, speaks of the 'ecclesiastical acts of Christ,' as the 'first in the episcopate of Christianity,' he contents himself with an apostolical succession of the twelve, a presbyteral succession of the seventy, and a diaconal succession of the first deacons; while the church of Rome completes the lineage by making a vicarial-succession representative of the Head of the church himself, in the person of the supreme pontiff.

We would seriously ask, whether it is reasonable that a doctrine so momentous in its consequences, if true, as that of divine right, should be allowed to rest on the conjecture that the apostles, in some of their visitations, took care to settle one of the presbyters or bishops of a place over the rest, making him the *episcopus* by way of eminence and rank? When St. Paul took leave of the elders (presbyters) of Ephesus, he told them that they should see his 'face no more;' but he does not appear

to have uttered a word respecting any superior officer: not a word was said to any such person on the solemn responsibility of his function; not a word to the elders on their duty of obedience. Paul simply addresses the elders as co-equals, bidding them 'take heed to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers' (bishops, Acts xx.) It is always pleasant to witness candour in a religious controversy; and this is one cause why we prefer sometimes to state the views which we have been led to entertain, on the subjects of the present volume, in the language of episcopalians themselves. For we are glad to say that they often do manifest a degree of fairness and concession which we look for in vain in the statements of Mr. Boyd, who indulges in a great deal of special pleading; and though he often gets into a trackless region, where his road is quite hedged up with difficulties, nothing daunted, he presses forward to his favourite end like a pioneer who has to cut his way through a dense forest, on the classic principle, *inveniam viam aut faciam*. We will quote the admission of an episcopalian writer of the article 'Ecclesiastical History,' in the tenth volume of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*:—

'At the period of St. Paul's summons to the church of Ephesus, no such order (the episcopal) could have existed there; and if not in so large and important a church, probably nowhere. The *title* (bishops) cannot imply it, for it is one used for all the presbyters of Ephesus; and their number proves that he was not addressing bishops, for they came from one church. Again, though the word occurs elsewhere in St. Paul's *epistles*, it cannot intend one chief governor of any church, because his epistles are addressed to the church as bodies of men, in whom authority was vested.'

One of the strongest arguments in favour of the divine right of a third order of ministers in the church, has always been drawn from the epistles to the seven churches in the Apocalypse; and Mr. Boyd does not fail to contend that we have here conclusive proof of apostolical diocesan episcopacy. He states that the term '*angel*' refers, not to a collective body formed of the several persons constituting the 'presbytery' or the 'pastorate' of a church, as has been maintained by presbyterians, but that the '*angel*' must, in each case, have been a single individual. We confess that we have always been of this opinion; and we think it so improbable that the term should have a collective signification, that no desire of maintaining any particular theory could induce us to attempt to persuade ourselves to the contrary, without further evidence. But Mr. Boyd demands, for the '*angels*' of the Asian churches, diocesan rank and power. Independently, however, of the appeal which



he makes to the Fathers, he offers no very direct argument in proof of this claim. He seems principally to rest on a quotation from Mosheim, who says that—

‘In the more considerable churches at least, if not in the others, it came even during the life-time of the apostles, and with their approbation, to be the practice for some men more eminent than the rest, to be invested with the presidency or chief direction. It must be evident that those who are termed angels, were persons possessing such a degree of authority in their respective churches, as enabled them to mark with merited disgrace whatever might appear to be deserving of reprehension, and to give due encouragement to everything that was virtuous and commendable.’ (De Reb. Christian i. 227.)

In order to explain more fully the views of Mosheim, who is justly termed ‘judicious’ by Mr. Boyd, we will introduce a passage on the same subject from his Ecclesiastical History. Having stated his opinion that ‘neither Christ himself, nor his holy apostles, have commanded any thing clearly or expressly concerning the external form of the church, and the precise method according to which it should be governed,’ he proceeds: ‘It was the assembly of the people which chose their own rulers and teachers, or received them by a free and authoritative consent, when recommended by others. The same people rejected or confirmed, by their suffrages, the laws that were proposed by their rulers; passed judgment upon the different subjects of controversy and dissension that arose in the community; and, in a word, exercised all such authority which belongs to such as are invested with the sovereign power.’ Before concluding the quotation, we would here take the opportunity of remarking, that with an episcopacy so set up by any community of believers, out of their own free choice, and with no encroachment on the civil or religious liberties of other Christians, we have no dispute; not even if that episcopacy be diocesan. The rights with which Mosheim regards the Christian assembly as invested, are clearly those which are incidentally testified as belonging to it, in the apostolical epistles, and which are viewed in the same light in the quotation we have given above from Barrow. Once for all, be it remembered, what we deprecate is the doctrine of divine right as applied to the form and the details of church-government—the divine right of the platform, rather than of the general principles which ought to pervade it. Mosheim continues:—

‘Three or four presbyters ruled. But the number of presbyters and deacons increasing with that of the churches, these new circumstances required new regulations. It was then judged necessary that

one man of distinguished gravity and wisdom should preside. This person was at first styled the *angel* of the church, but was afterwards distinguished by the name of *bishop*, or inspector. A bishop was a person who had the care of one Christian assembly. In this assembly, he acted not so much with the authority of a master, as with the zeal and diligence of a faithful servant. He charged the presbyters, indeed, with the performances of those duties and services which the multiplicity of his engagements rendered it impossible for him to fulfil; but had not power to enact or decide any thing, without the consent of the presbyters and people. The power and influence of the bishops soon extended themselves. New churches in the neighbouring towns and villages grew imperceptibly into ecclesiastical provinces, which the Greeks afterwards called *dioceses*.' (Vol i., c. 2, ed. 1806.)

It would seem, from the above quotation, that the authority on which Mr. Boyd appears to repose so much of the argument, as is deduced from the 'angels' of the Asian churches, by no means bears him out to the length of diocesan episcopacy, at the least; nor, indeed, to that of any episcopacy which he would think worthy of the name, much less to the extreme position of divine right. As a preliminary to the determination of the precise functions of the 'angel,' in each of the seven churches, it would be of course necessary for us to know whether in each case there was more than one pastor; a query which is certainly not determined by anything contained in the epistles themselves; for nothing is required from the angel which could not be as well done by an ordinary minister as by an episcopal bishop, even on modern episcopalian principles, provided that any thing approaching to a pure discipline were supposed to be maintained in the church. Now it is not easy, at this distance of time, to conjecture to what number the Christians might amount in any one of the seven churches, and how many pastors might, therefore, be required. Even the fact of a city being great, would not prove that there were many Christians in it. With respect to Philadelphia, moreover, it appears that, in the time of Strabo, (xiii. p. 628) a little before the date of the Apocalypse, it had been frequently visited by earthquakes. On this account, it was greatly deserted by its inhabitants. This may, perhaps, account for the poverty of the Philadelphian church. Under such circumstances, it is quite conceivable that there might be only one pastor. If so, he would be the 'angel,' and there would be no room for diversity of ministerial rank; for it is certain that the scriptures give no express rules for the number of office-bearers in each church, and it is likely that this depended on circumstances. Doddridge (Lect. 196) remarks that 'the angels of the churches might be no more than pastors

of single congregations.' We think it probable, however, that in some, at least, of these seven churches, the Christian community was so numerous that several ministers were required; and if so, we do not see how the conclusion can well be avoided that the individual addressed in the epistles would be the one who was, in some respects, distinguished from the rest. If in any place there was a plurality of pastors, one of them, it would seem, possessed some kind of superiority. The question is, what was the nature of this superiority? Was it conventional, and growing out of circumstances; or was it formal, organic, and even of divine appointment, according to the views of Mr. Boyd?

It certainly does not appear that we have any means, from the New Testament, of pronouncing the latter of the two alternatives. For aught that appears there, the 'angel' might have been, now the sole minister of a small assembly of Christians, now the senior or chief minister among several who had the oversight of one church; as at Ephesus, when Paul took his farewell of these elders (presbyters); or at Philippi, when he addressed his epistle to the *bishops* and the deacons in that place. The angel might have been the presiding church officer, whether sole or among many; and we need scarcely repeat that the terms presbyter and bishop are, in the New Testament, synonymous. It is also, we believe, generally admitted that the offices of teaching and superintending were combined in the same persons. It would seem little to be doubted that the 'bishop' of later times was still unknown in the age of the Apocalypse, not being as yet developed, if we may so say, out of the presbyter, and being only, as it were, in the germ, which sprung out of circumstances, and not from any original and necessary organization of the church. If the term 'angel,' in the seven epistles, derived its application from the *Sheliach Tsibbur* of the synagogue, (which is a prevailing opinion), the expression 'angels of the churches,' would seem to be a Hebraism for 'ministers of the churches,' who took the lead. The rendering in both cases might be, 'messengers of the assembly,' a designation which is thought to have been given because they spoke to God on behalf of the people: for it appears that the officer of the synagogue alluded to, was defined by being the minister who usually led the prayers of the congregation, instructed the people in religion, and acted as the principal directing functionary in matters of business.

We have no evidence that, at this early period, any fixed and determinate rules had been laid down with regard to the limits of particular churches, the more minute details of their formal organization, or their external and mutual relations. It would well accord with the liberal genius of the gospel, that



many of these matters of arrangement should be left to adapt themselves, in a great measure, to circumstances; the grand principles of brotherly love, spirituality of aim, and subordination in all things to Christ, to his laws, and to the spirit of his religion, being held to be inviolable. It appears, however, clear enough that how large or small soever might be the number of Christians at any one town or city, and however numerous or few the ministers, the whole body was regarded, in the apostolic times, as the 'church' in that place. We know, from the Acts of the Apostles, that the 'church of God which was at Jerusalem,' early numbered its members by 'thousands;' yet it is spoken of as *one* church. The epistle to the Romans is addressed to 'all that be in Rome;' and it is evident, from many passages, that they constituted one body. So we read of the 'church of God which is at Corinth,' and of the 'church of the Thessalonians.' The question would arise, when the number of Christians in any place became too great for them conveniently to assemble in one building, and when the number of pastors consequently required to be increased, what was now to be the organization of the church? The case might be that of something more than merely a large assembly. We have large assemblies now, assemblies of two or three thousand persons in one place of worship, sometimes under one pastor; and if even presbyterian or independent single congregations, either from numbers or from any other cause, have more than one pastor, it is always found that one is regarded as the senior or leading minister; and it can hardly, in the nature of things, be otherwise. This might perhaps be exactly the case of some of the first churches. But in the case of unwieldy numbers, a still further distribution of labours might be necessary. And here we might expect for the first time to see developed the genius of systems. Presbyterians would maintain the union by a synod of the elders. Independents, according to their practice in England, would separate the whole body into parts; no longer insisting on an organic union, but regarding each part as much a distinct church as the whole previously was, and as formally separate from all the rest, and as much *sui juris* as though they were situated, each, in different towns or provinces. Episcopalians would bring all the distinct assemblies under the supreme jurisdiction of one officer, the bishop. Now who will undertake to say that we have any apostolic directions as to what is to be done in such a case? Nay more, can we pronounce a decision even with the guidance of any one clear and unequivocal apostolic precedent? All that can be done is to ask whether any one plan seems to be more harmonious with the general spirit and design of the Christian institution than another; and of this all

churches must judge for themselves. Dean Milner, therefore, while he thinks that Usher's model of reduced episcopacy comes nearest to the earliest form in which episcopacy arose, candidly acknowledges that, at first, presbyters and bishops were the same; and he adds, in a spirit which is very different from that of our author:—'it has been an error common to all parties to treat these lesser matters as if they were *jure divino*, or, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable. In vain, I think, will almost any modern church, whatever, set up a claim to exact resemblance of the primitive churches. The Christian world has been more anxious to support different modes of government, than to behave as Christians ought to do in each of them.' These words occur in Milner's 'History of the Church,' century the second, first chapter; and it may be worthy of remark, that four volumes of this work were printed by the university of Cambridge at its own expense. We can hardly persuade ourselves that Mr. Boyd has devoted much attention to the views of his more liberal episcopalian brethren, or he would surely have felt himself compelled, to have disposed in some way of their statements, in maintaining his favourite doctrine of divine right. We would refer him to the opinions of such writers as Hinds, Waddington, and Whately.

We may name as ecclesiastical historians of other communions who have given, in our judgment, a very distinct and probable account of the manner in which the third order of ministers arose out of cases in which there was a plurality of pastors, Campbell, Gieseler, and Neander. Campbell remarks:

'Certain it is that the very names of church-officers were borrowed from the synagogue, which had also its elders, overseers, deacons or almoners; and amongst them one usually presided, who was called the angel of the congregation, the title given by our Lord in the Apocalypse, to the presidents of Christian assemblies. It would be necessary, for the sake of order, that one should preside, both in the offices of religion, and in their consultations for the common good. Some of the most common appellations whereby the bishop was first distinguished, bear evident traces of this origin. He was called president, chairman. He was in the presbytery, as the speaker in the House of Commons, who is not of superior order to the other members of the house, but is a commoner among commoners, and is only in consequence of that station, accounted the first among those of his own rank. A letter to the congregation might very naturally be directed to him who possessed the first place, and presided among them. It is likely that John, in the direction of the epistles to the seven churches, availed himself of a distinction which had subsisted from the beginning; but as it implied no difference in order or power, was too inconsiderable to be noticed in the history.'

(Sect. v., vii.) Gieseler says, 'The new churches everywhere formed themselves on the model of the mother church at Jerusalem. At the head of each were the *elders* (πρεσβύτεροι, ἐπίσκοποι,) all officially of equal rank, though in several instances a peculiar authority seems to have been conceded to some one individual, from personal considerations. After the death of the apostles, and the pupils of the apostles, to whom the general direction of the churches had always been conceded, some one amongst the presbyters of each church was suffered gradually to take the lead in its affairs. In the same irregular way the title ἐπίσκοπος (bishop) was appropriated to this first presbyter.' (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, § 29, 32.)

We must not omit the opinion of another celebrated German historian, Neander. He convincingly proves that, in the apostolic age, the name *bishop* was 'wholly synonymous' with that of *presbyter* (Acts xx. 17, 28; Titus i. 5, 7; Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim., iii. 1—8); and remarks that as, at the appointment of deacons and of delegates to accompany the apostles (2 Cor., viii. 19), the churches were permitted to choose for themselves, it is probable that the wishes of the churches were regarded in the case of other officers. He remarks that 'Clement of Rome (Epist. c. 44) adduces the rule, as though delivered by the apostles, for the appointment of church offices, that they should be held according to the judgment of approved men, with the consent of the whole church.' Neander proceeds:—

'It was natural that as the presbyters formed a deliberative assembly, one among them should take the precedence. What we find in the *second* century, leads us to conclude that the standing office of president of the presbytery must have been formed soon after the apostolic age, which president, inasmuch as he took the oversight of everything, received the name of ἐπίσκοπος, and was thereby distinguished from the other presbyters. This name was at length exclusively assigned to this president, while the name presbyter, as at first, still remained common to all; for the bishops, as the presbyters who had the precedence, had as yet no other official character than that of presbyters: they were only *primi inter pares*.' (*Allgem. Geschichte der Christlich. Kirch. B. i. Ab. i.*)

On the whole, we cannot but think that the above views, from ecclesiastical historians of different schools, form a fair and probable account of the subject; and we do not think that the argument for the *divine right* of any official distinction of rank and order between presbyters, which Mr. Boyd pronounces to be sanctioned by Christ, the Head of the church, in his charges to the Apocalyptic 'angels,' has any force. In order to render it valid, we must first know that, in the case of a plurality of pastors, the 'angel' was distinguished by peculiar powers; such



as that of ruling the other presbyters, by authority. We ought also to be able to know that the term 'angel' would not be applied to any *sole* pastor of a church, a case which we have ventured to suppose might have existed at such a place as Philadelphia. It will not be pretended that the ecclesiastical spirit, ever wont from its very birth to manifest itself in laying great stress on form and order and official rank, lost anything of its vigour by the lapse of time; on the contrary, it waxed stronger and more tenacious of distinctions among the clergy. Yet (notwithstanding the extraordinary epistles ascribed to Ignatius, which date in the second century, and which we shall presently notice), the candid episcopalian writer, Waddington, admits that, even 'at the beginning of the *third* century,' though 'the more important churches were severally superintended by a bishop, he possessed a not very definite degree of authority' (*Hist. p. 35*): and Bishop Kaye, the learned commentator on Tertullian, who belongs to the same period, remarks that 'however clearly the distinction between the bishops and the other orders of the clergy may be asserted in the writings of Tertullian, they afford us little assistance in ascertaining wherein this distinction consisted.' (*On Tertull. p. 234.*)

We were anxious to see how far Mr. Boyd would understand Clement of Rome as favouring his views of the divine right of diocesan episcopacy, and its consequent necessity as an element of the true church. We should premise that Clement, by the united voice of Christian antiquity, is the same who is mentioned in the epistle to the Philippians (iv. 3) as one of the 'fellow-labourers' of the apostle Paul. Towards the close of the first century, he wrote an epistle entitled 'From the church of God at Rome, to the church of God at Corinth;' a title which is quite in keeping with the incidental evidences of essential self-government, which are found in so many passages of the apostolical epistles to the churches. This invaluable document, probably the earliest of uninspired Christian antiquity, discovers a spirit which is just such as might be expected from one who, as Irenæus (*adv. Heres.*) says, 'had seen the blessed apostles, and conversed with them; and who had their preaching still sounding in his ears.' How contrasted is this truly Christian epistle with the anathemas and fulminations which, little more than a century afterwards, began to burst forth from this same church of Rome, (so early a volcano of desolation to Christendom,) when Victor, claiming diocesan power over the Asian churches, denounced against them an edict of excommunication, the first thunder of the Vatican, for refusing to observe the paschal feast at the precise time adopted in the west! This memorable fact, which is supposed to have taken place about

A.D. 196, sadly proves how soon after the apostolic age the apostolic spirit had begun to depart from the church! The epistle of Clement was occasioned by a repetition of the divisions which had taken place among the Corinthian Christians in the time of the apostle Paul; and it appears that some of the presbyters had been improperly removed from their charge; or, to use the exact words of Clement, from their *episcopate*: (ἀπο τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς:) whence it is evident that the presbyters exercised a joint oversight, and were bishops in the sense of this term in the epistle of Paul to the Philippians. The same word is translated, in our common English version, '*bishoprick*,' (Acts i. 20,) and '*the office of a bishop*,' (1 Tim. iii. 1.)

We were not disappointed in our expectation that Mr. Boyd, with all his range over antiquity, and his power of setting his arguments in the most telling order, and in the strongest light, would find it difficult to convert the single-minded and apostolical Clement into a witness for the sacred right of hierarchical distinctions. Our author prudently inverts the pyramid of ecclesiastical antiquity, and begins at its base, with Jerome, when the seed of spiritual domination, which always had a sufficient depth of soil in the heart of man, had luxuriated in a growth of four hundred years. Mr. Boyd admits that the '*acerbities*' which mark the writings of this father may have been, in part at least, provoked by '*the haughtiness and worldliness of the bishops of his time*.' If the practice of the church at this distance from the apostolic age could be regarded as decisive of the question, there would be no doubt of the truth of our author's favourite doctrine of the divine right of diocesan episcopacy; but when he boldly attempts to retrace it upwards to the time of Clement, he certainly draws the argument to so fine a point, that it loses all coherence, and absolutely breaks down. He rests it on two or three passages. In the first, Clement exhorts the church, '*Be subject to your rulers (ἡγουμένους), and render due honour to the presbyters who are among you*.' Again, '*let us venerate our guides:*' (or leaders, προηγούμενους, which Mr. Boyd renders '*prelates*;' but see Rom. xii. 10:) '*let us honour our presbyters*.' If these expressions are not merely pleonastic, they might very well, it appears to us, have been addressed, at all events, to a church in which the only officers were the bishops or presbyters, and the deacons; the first clause in each of the two exhortations referring to the church-officers generally, and the latter two clauses to the presbyters, as distinct from the deacons. We shall, however, presently endeavour to explain these exhortations by other parts of the letter. Another passage adduced by Mr. Boyd contains advice to the church at Corinth to the effect that every member should attend to his



own peculiar and individual duty; just as, in the ancient church, every one had his appropriate function, the high priest, the priests, the Levites, and the laity. Our author magnifies this allusion by the high optical power which he always brings to every question, into a proof of three orders and a hierarchy of the clergy. Apparently conscious, however, that the above arguments in favour of the existence of a diocesan see at Corinth are somewhat apocryphal, he adds: 'We can put the views of Clement in a still clearer light, by another passage, to which our opponents are rash enough to appeal.' The quotation is the following: 'The apostles, preaching through countries and cities, constituted their first converts bishops and deacons of those who should hereafter believe.' We are reminded by the turn which Mr. Boyd tries to give to this passage, of a barrister who, coming to a very weak point of his case, should try to hold it up to the jury as a particularly strong one, by stoutly asserting that it is so, and by hitting upon some unexpected and ingenious means of hiding its lameness. We find him now claiming the title 'apostle' for the bishop whom he is so determined to exalt. We have here clearly, he maintains, the three orders in all their genuineness,—apostles, bishops, (whom he of course must now admit to be the same with presbyters) and deacons. The successors of the apostles, he tells us, were '*too modest to assume the proper title, apostle; and appropriated to themselves that of bishop;*' the italics are our own. Now, we know that, in later times, titles were assumed in the church, requiring as much self-possession in the wearers as that of 'apostle:' witness those of the popes. We can hardly, therefore, account for the 'proper title' which Mr. Boyd informs us belongs to the successors of the apostles not having been commonly adopted. The inferior clergy, as they are called, would then have been bishops and deacons; but where we have now 'bishops,' we should have 'apostles'—to wit, the 'apostle of Exeter;' and can any one doubt that, by this time, some of the 'successors' of the original apostles would have learned to bear their titles, as well as their faculties, without the discomfort to their modesty, which, according to Mr. Boyd, Clement and others of the primitive church would have felt in assuming the name which really belonged to them? Let us see what evidence the general tone of Clement's epistle to the Corinthians furnishes of any aim at these high and transcendental prerogatives.

We have already intimated that this important document is written in the name of the 'church of God at Rome,' and not in the name of Clement himself, be his position in that church what it might. Nothing here of authority; nothing in the



style of 'we Clement, by divine permission,' or 'by divine providence:' all is persuasion; all is affection, mourning over the divisions of the Corinthian church, and seeking to heal them by love and fraternal exhortation. '*We learn that you have removed some from their offices who ruled well—your schism has thrown all of us into grief—this rumour has not only reached us, but also those who are ill-disposed towards us.*' Such is the united strain of concern of which Clement was the organ. In how different a tone would an epistle from Rome have been expressed, a century afterwards, by Victor, already so ominous an example of what the development of the third order of the clergy, and the growth of the ecclesiastical spirit, would one day make the Roman church! It is the express object of Clement's letter to conciliate the people towards the ministers (presbyters) of the probably numerous Christian community at Corinth, and to promote order in the body; and we are bold to affirm, after a careful perusal, that, while the official rights of the united presbyters are asserted, *there is not a word in the whole of this long epistle bearing the slightest allusion to any superior presbyter, or bishop*, such as soon afterwards began very widely to exercise an authoritative control over presbyters and deacons, as well as over the people. Now had there existed in the Corinthian church such an officer, it is evident that the divisions which at this time again distracted it, would have outraged his authority more than that of any other person; he would, indeed, have been ostensibly responsible for them; it would have been his duty, above that of any other man, to endeavour to heal them. It is inconceivable, therefore, that the (episcopal) bishop, supposing there were one, should have failed of being in some way noticed. Indeed, this omission would not have been respectful to him. On the other hand, if there was no functionary of such a rank and of such powers above the rest as to require especial mention, if, in short, the third order of the clergy did not exist in this church; then had Clement and the Roman Christians regarded its constitution as deficient, from its not having conformed to a divinely-appointed model, or from having departed from that form, would not this letter have contained exhortations to the Corinthians on the sacred duty of at once complying with the divine ordinance? Clement was evidently well-acquainted with the history of this church from its beginning, and he alludes to its previous order: 'Ye did walk according to the laws of God, being subject to those who had the rule over you.' How unaccountable, then, that this apostolic and faithful man should make no sort of allusion to the one ecclesiastical supreme, the bishop, while he actually draws arguments from the power with which the 'presbyters' were invested! for he

laments that 'the firmly-settled church of the Corinthians should, by means of one or two persons, excite factious insubordination against the presbyters.' How strange in default of the officer of the third order, that Clement, who must, on Mr. Boyd's hypothesis, have been in his own person an illustration of the divine appointment of episcopacy, and who showed so circumstantial a knowledge of the internal state of this church, did not earnestly entreat the Corinthians immediately to supply a deficiency which, so long as it remained, could not allow them to hope for the divine blessing in the return of a spirit of harmony and peace! Mr. Boyd, in his retrograde examination of the fathers as witnesses, would have done well to stop at Ignatius. Clement, of still earlier date, furnishes no connecting link by which the apostolical appointments and the institution of the next century can be amalgamated together. To seek in Clement's epistle for arguments to prove the divine right of the (episcopal) bishop, is like attempting to drink out of the cup of Tantalus. The following is the remark of Prebendary Waddington:—'Till the date of St. Clement's epistle, the government (of the church at Corinth) had been clearly presbyterial; and we do not learn the exact moment of the change. The episcopal form was clearly not yet here established.' (Hist. pp. 12, 21.)

Of course, our author rejoices in Ignatius. The epistles attributed to this Father are the shaster of all those who see in the third order of the ministry an essential constitution of the church; and of all who attach importance to stone altars, candelabra, credence-tables, sedilia, preaching in the surplice, and the like, as signs of apostolical catholicism, not known indeed till later ages, but venerable as ancient memorials of the most palmy days of ghostly and hierarchical dominion. The martyrdom of Ignatius is reported as having taken place very early in the second century, according to Gieseler, A.D. 116. The epistles ascribed to him are extant in two forms, a longer and a shorter. The genuineness of the former appears to have met with little support from students of Christian antiquity; and even the shorter form has proved quite a *cruz criticorum*, who have not been a little perplexed to know exactly what to make of the strange mixture which there is of piety with a sort of rhodomontade which is almost ludicrous. The shorter form was first published by Vossius, two centuries ago, from a manuscript in the Medicean library at Florence. Many circumstances tend greatly to obscure these epistles as a testimony on which we might depend. Some things are quoted from them by other early writers, which they do not now contain. Latin words are employed which no other Greek writer used till centuries

afterwards: terms which are not, as are those in the New Testament, expressive of Roman office, custom, money, or the like. And as to church-order and prerogative, they are as extravagant as any Tractarian or Romanist could desire. The transition of the style, and of the spirit, from those of Clement is often perfectly confounding. Indeed these epistles remind one of those passionate and imprecatory assertions of some alleged fact, which we sometimes hear in a street-brawl; and which produce an effect on our own convictions quite contrary to that of the calm and unlaboured statements of real truth. From beginning to end of these singular productions, there is an almost incessant obtrusion of homage to the clergy of the three orders. Much more matter on this subject may be found in each of several of these letters in a few pages, than the whole New Testament contains on the duties of church-members to their ministers. Obedience to bishops, presbyters, and deacons (for here first we find them distinguished), is held up as the main obligation; and it is the chorus of every song. We shall give a few specimens for the amusement, if not edification of our readers. One from the *longer* form may suffice, which would satisfy even Hildebrand himself, to his heart's content; not to add any other and more modern hierarch, who, according to Mr. Boyd, ought to be called the 'apostle' of his see. 'Let governors be obedient to Cæsar, soldiers to governors, deacons to presbyters as to priests; and let presbyters and deacons and the rest of the flock, together with all the people, and the soldiers, and Cæsar himself, be obedient to the bishop.'—(*ad Philad*). We quote what follows from the shorter forms:—

'Give heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. I pledge my soul for theirs who are subject to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons. Let my part in God be with them, (*ad Polyc*). Let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ; and the bishop as though he were the son of the Father, and the presbyters as the Sanhedrim of God, and as though they were the company of the apostles. Without these the name of church does not exist.' (*ad Trall.*) 'Let us be careful that we do not set ourselves against the bishop, that we may be subject unto God. It is evident that we ought to look upon the bishop even as upon the Lord himself.' (*ad Ephes*) 'In whom (Sotio the deacon) I rejoice; because he is subject to his bishop as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ'—'It will become you to yield all reverence to him (the bishop) according to the power of God the Father. Do nothing without the bishop and the presbyters. Do not endeavour to let anything appear rational to yourselves, apart. Be subject to your bishop.' (*ad Magn.*) 'Without your bishop, you should do nothing: also, be subject to your presbyters as to the apostles of Jesus Christ.



He who does anything without the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons, is not pure in his conscience.' (*ad Trall*).

According to this doctrine the contemporary Corinthian Christians were not a church of Christ. It is no wonder that these strange and almost ludicrous effusions should be regarded by many writers of great weight as deeply affecting the genuineness even of the shorter forms. Jortin says that,—

'Though preferable (to the longer), he is not prepared to say that they have undergone no alteration'. (*Remarks*, vol. i. 361.)

Mosheim pronounces

'The whole question relating to the epistles of St. Ignatius, in general, to be embarrassed with many difficulties.' (*Hist.* vol. i. c. 2.)

Campbell says,—

'It would not be easy to say, how we could with safety found a decision in an author with whose works transcribers, in the judgment of both sides, have made so free.' (*Lect. vi.*)

The Episcopalian writer in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* before quoted, remarks:

'It is by no means clear that the imposture practised on what we call the *Interpolated Epistles*, was not an after-attempt to carry too far what had been more sparingly, and more successfully effected in the *Shorter Epistles*, so that the genuine epistles themselves have been tampered with. The temptation to such a proceeding was strong, and there are certainly not a few internal marks that it was practised.' (*vol. x. p. 764.*)

Neander represents these letters as

'Interpolated by some one who was prejudiced in favour of the hierarchy.' (*Allg. Geschicht. Bd. 1. Abt. 2.*)

Among others who have regarded the epistles ascribed to Ignatius as spurious, or as corrupted in order to support hierarchical pretensions, are Ernesti, Salmasius, Blondel, Daillé Semler, Griesbach, Schmidt, Baumgarten, and Hase. We may add that, contrary to the usage of the first two or three centuries, the term *church* is used in these epistles in relation to a province or nation. They repeatedly speak of '*the church which is in Syria*;' an expression which certainly has no parallel in the New Testament; nor, as we believe, in any other work before Cyprian, who once employs it in a similar manner. It is singular, considering the contents of the others, that, in the epistle to the Romans, there is no single allusion to the bishop or any other church officer, with the sole exception, hardly to be called such, that Ignatius once speaks of himself as '*bishop of Syria*.'

Notwithstanding this latter fact, we must remark, before dismissing Ignatius, that these epistles will serve Mr. Boyd but

indifferently as a prop to *diocesan* episcopacy. Ignatius's bishop is indisputably the chief pastor of a local Christian community. His power is neither exclusive of the presbyters, deacons, nor people. The church at Smyrna sends Burrhus as its messenger. The Philadelphians are exhorted to elect a delegate, a deacon, to go to Antioch: (the larger form has it 'bishop.') 'Where the Bishop is,' says Ignatius, 'there,' it is said, 'must be the people.' 'You ought to do nothing without the bishop. Where the pastor is, there, as sheep, do ye follow him.' 'If the prayer of one or two have so much force, how much more efficacious must that be which is made by the bishop and the whole church.\*' 'Let your assemblies be held more frequently,' says the epistle to Polycarp: 'Seek out all by name.' We would ask whether such representations of the functions of a bishop accord with the position of a diocesan prelate, the supreme over many churches, but the pastor of none. Could such duties as are involved in the congregational or parochial episcopate of Ignatius have been discharged by a modern prelate, the bishop of Derry for instance, with whose cathedral Mr. Boyd is connected? Such a bishop as Ignatius describes, would, if absent, have required a substitute to attend to the flock among whom he lived and laboured: but, if we mistake not, a bishop of Derry, in recent times, who was an English peer, could reside on the continent, exercising only the episcopal function of drawing the revenues of the richest bishopric in Ireland. We have, even at much later periods than that of Ignatius, similar allusions to the local and congregational duties of the 'bishop.' From Origen, Tertullian, and Justin Martyr, we learn that he preached, prayed, administered the eucharist, and baptised; superintended the christian poor, the orphans and widows, the sick, prisoners, and strangers; and acted as the almoner of the society.† Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, knew every one of the people of his charge.‡ In short, it cannot fairly be doubted that the rise of episcopacy was gradual; and that the first form in which it appeared was congregational or parochial. Least of all have we any satisfactory evidence of divine right for episcopacy, or indeed for the details of any other form of church government.

In the chapter on the testimony of the Fathers, Mr. Boyd passes but lightly over the epistle to the Philippians by Polycarp, the disciple of St. John; remarking that 'its inscription bears evidence to the fact that he was not a simple presbyter endowed with congregational oversight.' This epistle, which was

\* Vid. ad Trall.—ad Smyrn.—ad Philad.—ad Ephes. etc.

† Vid. Orig. in Ezek. Hom. 3.—Tertull. de Bapt.—Justin Martyr. Apol. 2. ‡ Epist. 58.

written soon after the time of Ignatius, is entitled: 'From Polycarp and the Presbyters with him, to the church of God dwelling (παροικίῳ, cognate with *parish*) at Philippi:' language which implies certainly that Polycarp took the lead in the church at Smyrna, of which indeed there is little doubt that he was the 'angel' mentioned in the apocalyptic epistle. But what might be the *nature* of his superiority to the other presbyters, could scarcely be determined by this inscription; for such language is perfectly compatible with the principle before stated, on which a certain kind of precedence might arise among co-pastors in a church, without necessarily involving a difference of *order*, marked by specific ordination, or by authoritative and exclusive peculiarity of function. Certain it is that, in this epistle, we get back again to language far more in harmony with that of the New Testament; and its general tendency on the controversy is the same as that of the epistle of Clement. The latter uses only the terms ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι, bishops and deacons; while Polycarp uses only πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι, elders and deacons; agreeably, in both cases, with the usage of the New Testament, in which presbyters and bishops are one and the same. More than half a century earlier, the apostle Paul had written his epistle to the joint church-officers at Philippi, under the name of 'bishops and deacons:' Polycarp now writes to the same church, addressing the officers as 'presbyters and deacons;' and neither St. Paul nor Polycarp has left us any trace of inequality among the pastors, not even of that kind which, as we have seen, might so easily arise by seniority or fitness, without the broad official mark of authoritative distinction for which Mr. Boyd contends. In Polycarp's letter, the duties and qualifications of the presbyters and deacons are separately treated of; and in the ancient Latin version of that part of the Greek original which is lost, the delinquency of a presbyter is feelingly alluded to\*; but nothing is said, throughout the epistle, of any superior officer. The duties of the Christian body are also continually brought forward; and they are *once* solemnly exhorted to 'be subject to the presbyters and deacons.' Had there existed in this church any *supreme* presbyter, would not the regard due to him have been inculcated in like manner? Would this omission, which also occurs in the epistle of Clement, have been found in later times, when the ecclesiastical spirit had gained the ascendant? For aught that appears in either of these two valuable documents, the co-pastors of Corinth and Philippi may have been on an entire equality. If in either, or

\* Contristatus sum pro Valente, qui factus est aliquando apud vos presbyter, etc.—*Polycarp. Epistol. cum Annotat.* Oxon. 1709.



both cases, there was a senior or leading pastor, it is evident that his position in the church was not such as to require a special recognition. That the practice of conceding a certain superiority to one among several pastors did gradually prevail, we have already admitted; and by the end of the second century the episcopal principle of three orders in the ministry, growing out of this circumstance, undoubtedly became general; but we have certainly no sign, as yet, even of its earliest germ at Corinth or Philippi.

Mr. Boyd next examines Irenæus, and Tertullian. Irenæus, who belonged to the close of the second century, and was bishop of Lyons, while he sometimes uses the names *bishop* and *presbyter* as wholly synonymous (Adv. Hæres. iv. 26), no doubt, elsewhere distinguishes the bishop from the presbyters. He does so very singularly in reference to Paul's interview with the Ephesian elders at Miletus; saying that the persons whom Paul called together were 'bishops' and 'elders.' (*convocatis in Mileto episcopis et presbyteris.*) Now, in the Acts (xx. 17) it is certain that elders only are mentioned, and they are the elders of Ephesus. (πέμψας εἰς Ἔφεσον, μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας). Mr. Boyd does not allude to the statement of Irenæus (iii. 14); and unless it can be shown that the church officers of some other church or churches were present, of which there is no evidence, we do not see how it would have helped him; for to have had more than one episcopal bishop of Ephesus, would surely be to Mr. Boyd an abomination. Again, in his epistle to Victor, of Rome, of which Eusebius has preserved fragments, Irenæus, having enunciated several of Victor's predecessors, calls them all, together with Victor himself, by the name of 'presbyters.' (οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι. Euseb. v. 24.) This varied usage of Irenæus is such as might easily take place, previously to the full and final development of episcopacy. Eusebius records, that when the churches of Gaul sent Irenæus himself to Rome, and gave him a letter of recommendation, the highest title which they bestowed on him was that of '*a presbyter of the church*' (πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας) and the presbyters spoke of him as a 'brother and colleague.' On this fact, let us hear an episcopalian of no less name than Stillingfleet:

'It seems very improbable that they should make use of the lowest name of honour, then appropriated to subject presbyters, if they had looked on a superior order above those presbyters as of divine institution, and thought there had been so great a distance between a bishop and subject presbyters, as we are made to believe there was; which is as if the master of a college in one university should be sent by the fellows of his society to the heads of another, and should, in his commendatory letters to them, be styled a senior

fellow of that house. Would not any one that read this imagine that there was no difference between a senior fellow and a master, but only a primacy of order; that he was the first of the number, without any power over the rest? (*Irenicum*, p. 311.)

The passage which our author quotes from Tertullian (who flourished at the end of the second, and in the early part of the third century,) relates to the pretensions of *heretics*; whom he challenges to show the origin of their churches, as the apostolic churches showed *theirs*, by tracing them back to the individuals to whom the apostles first intrusted the superintendence over their doctrine and discipline:

‘Let them declare the original of their churches, let them exhibit the order of their bishops so running down from the beginning by successions, that their first bishop had one of the apostles or apostolic men for his ordainer and predecessor: for in this manner it is that apostolic churches carry down their reckonings.’ (*De Prescript. Heret.*, c. 32.) ‘It is almost unfeeling,’ says Mr. Boyd, ‘towards the impugnors of the divine right of episcopacy, and the descendants of the innovators of the sixteenth century, to pause over a passage such as this, which shows diocesan episcopacy planted in several churches by apostolic wisdom, and which pronounces it a thing more than suspicious for a church to want an episcopal succession.’

Reluctant, however, as our author kindly is to ‘slay the slain,’ he still summons up nerve enough to give to his opponents the *coup de grace*, by deducing from this testimony, ‘the stringency of which,’ he says, they ‘would not see: first, that Tertullian’s bishop is a *prelate*; secondly, that *diocesan episcopacy has the sanction of the apostles*; thirdly, that bishops are *necessary for the preservation of the apostolical succession*; and fourthly, that ‘whatever difference existed in Tertullian’s days, between bishops and presbyters, was by *divine right*.’ Now may we not ask, what do Tertullian’s statements really assert? We reply, they assert this: that while the orthodox churches could be traced up to the apostles through the succession of ministers who had laboured in them, the heretical churches had sprung off as collateral branches. We say nothing, here, of Tertullian’s argument, proving the present orthodoxy of a church by that of its original founders (and Tertullian held some strange notions in his day): but the question still returns, what were these bishops? especially, what were they originally? Some of them may have been the single pastors of the churches. The bare *fact* that there had been a succession of orthodox pastors back to the times of the apostles, whether these pastors were one or more, surely cannot prove three orders in the apostolic church! That in the age of Tertullian, there was a distinction between the bishop and the presbyters, we do not doubt; but as we have



seen already, we have the authority of Bishop Kaye, the recent learned commentator on this father, for maintaining that his writings afford us little assistance in ascertaining wherein this distinction consisted.' Tertullian does not specify the powers which were exercised by the 'bishops' of whom he speaks in such a way as that we can judge how far they were of a superior order to presbyters. He says: 'In our assemblies, the senior tried men (*probatique seniores*) preside, having obtained this honour by their publicly acknowledged merit.' (*Apol. c. 39.*) Bishop Kaye remarks: 'Tertullian appears to speak of the presidentship as conferred solely in consideration of superior age and piety' (*On Tert. p. 223.*) Under the above name, '*seniors*,' Tertullian appears to include, as Neander observes, both bishops and presbyters. Archbishop Usher, in his '*Reduced Scheme of Episcopacy*,' quotes the same passage; and remarks that these elders 'were no other, as he (Tertullian) intimates elsewhere, (*de Coron. Milit. c. 3*) but those from whose hands they used to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist.' What evidence we have here of 'diocesan episcopacy,' it is not easy to imagine: as distinguished from that which may be called congregational or parochial, it appears to have been of the growth of the third century. The term 'prelate,' too, in such a sense as would suit the purpose of Mr. Boyd, is by no means justified by anything which we learn of the distinct functions of a bishop from Tertullian. As for divine right, Paley says: 'The divine right of kings is like the divine right of constables;' so we would say, 'the divine right of bishops (in the ecclesiastical sense) is like the divine right of beadles with staves and cocked hats.' The point to be determined is, do they answer a good and useful end on general principles? As for 'apostolical succession,' we think it about as tangible a thing, and about as easy to be proved, in the case of bishops, as of parish-clerks. We should like to know how far Mr. Boyd's reverence for the episcopal order would be put to the test by what Archbishop Whately, of his own Irish church, says on this and the cognate subjects. And as for the idea that bishops are necessary for the 'preservation of the apostolical succession;' it might as well be said that such popes as Boniface the Sixth, John the Twelfth, Benedict the Ninth, or Alexander the Sixth, are necessary as the patrons and conveyancers of pure morals; or that Bonner and Gardiner were necessary as reservoirs of charity and brotherly love! 'As Tertullian,' to use the words of Neander, 'stands, in many respects, at the point which separates between the old and the new time of the Christian church,' we shall not follow Mr. Boyd further down the stream of ecclesiastical history, which only becomes more turbid and devious as it advances; though we could still



corroborate, as we believe, the views which we have taken above. We will only add, that none of our author's references to Clement of Alexandria, throw any further light on the subject: they do not show wherein the distinction between the bishop and the presbyters consisted. Under Cyprian, who flourished about the middle of the third century, a new scene is developed; and, in him, we see the monarchico-ecclesiastical principle struggling amain for ascendancy. Still, even then, the rights of the Christian assembly were far enough from being merged under the authority of the higher clergy, as in later times, and as they now remain. What would Mr. Boyd think of his own diocesan, were he to propose to follow Cyprian's example, and that of the church at Carthage, in matters of discipline? We find that, in this church, offences were judged of by the people; and that the popular principle which had been handed down from the apostolic epistles, still maintained its existence, as might be shown by many references.\*

In the chapter on 'Apostolic Succession,' Mr. Boyd charges the adherents to the 'Scottish and Continental schisms' with inconsistency in adopting the rite of ordination at all. The 'succession' is interrupted, so far as schismatics are concerned, it seems; and the rise of Calvin in Geneva, and of Knox in Scotland, dated the 'commencement of a course of schism which has only become more perplexed as it has extended.' We thought it a great chance if our author's opponents were so fortunate as to get off without having a good charge fired at them from what the witty Vincent Alsop calls the 'ecclesiastical culverine of schism, which, being overcharged, and ill managed, recoils, and hurts the canoneer; so that he who undertakes to play this great gun had need be very careful and sponge it well, lest it fire home.'† We would take the liberty of advising Mr. Boyd to study carefully the New Testament, with the view of ascertaining the scripture doctrine on the subject of schism, and whether there is no danger of falling into this sin by enacting terms of communion in the church which Christ and his apostles have not enacted, and by *unchurching* all non episcopalian Christendom, leaving the true church to be found only among Anglicans and Romanists. As to ordination, Mr. Boyd is in error if he supposes, as he appears to do, that dissenters from his church believe that they can *make ministers* by this rite, in the sense in which he declares that 'true bishops, despite of their personal characters, can make bishops.' So far as our

\* Vid. Cypr. Epist. 28. § 2. 59. § 1. 40. § 4. 55. § 16. 72. § 3. 6. § 5, etc.

† Melius Inquirend. p. 209.

experience reaches, dissenters regard ordination as a matter of decent order ; a public recognition, on which, if devoutly engaged in, the blessing of the Head of the church may be hoped for ; but they are far from believing that it confers any new powers, or that it can, in any sense, *make* a minister.

Our readers will be somewhat surprised, perhaps amused, to be informed that Mr. Boyd, being obliged to admit the fact of the popular ingredient which existed in the primitive church, states that 'the people's province of testifying for or against the appointment' to the ministry, is 'still conceded to them in the church of England.' We really should have been much obliged, had we been favoured with examples in proof ! It was this very point, the right of the people to reject the imposition of a minister on them by patrons, which has justly occasioned that memorable and pregnant event, the disruption of the church of Scotland. At this crisis, the Scottish ministers acted nobly in taking the lead : but on the subject of the rights of the Christian people, the clergy of the church of England are still silent as death ! We can only afford space to add a few facts from antiquity in reference to these rights during the first three centuries. When Anterus, bishop of Rome, died, about A.D. 236, Eusebius says (vi. 28), all the brethren met together in the church in order to choose his successor. Clement of Rome, nearly a century and a half earlier, calls acts of discipline 'things ordered by the multitude' (τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους. Epist. ad Cor.) In Cyprian's time, questions respecting 'restoring the lapsed,' divisions in the church, and acts of discipline in general, were decided by the people ; as may be seen in the references in a former page. The bishop was elected by the whole church. (Cypr. Epist. 67, § 2 ; 68, § 6 ; Euseb. vi. 28.) Cyprian expressly says, that he was made bishop at Carthage 'by the suffrage of all the people.' (Epist. 55, § 6, 7 ; and 40, § 1.) Alexander was chosen bishop of Jerusalem by the people, and the bishops of the neighbourhood gave their approval. (Euseb. vi. 11 ; Cypr. Epist. 68, § 6.) The people were consulted in the ordination of any person of their body. (Cypr. Epist. 68, § 4 ; Epist. 33.) Clement of Rome testifies that even the apostles ordained bishops and deacons 'with the approbation of the whole church.' (συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης. Epist. ad Cor.) The ordination service was conducted by the neighbouring bishops ; and we read of as many as sixteen being present at the settlement of a brother. (Cypr. Epist. 53, § 1 ; comp. 55, § 12, and 52, § 16 ; comp. 55, § 12.) We think our author would find it hard to show that these could have been diocesans. We may learn what some of these bishops were likely to be from other passages. Thus : Paulus Samosa-

tenus, the heretical bishop of Antioch, in the third century, we are told by Eusebius, refused to give up the 'house of the church;' and that he had many flatterers among the 'bishops of the adjacent country places and cities.' (τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων. Euseb. vi. 28; vii. 30.) Zoticus was bishop of the village, or small town of Comane (ἀπο Κομάνης κώμης. Euseb. v. 16. vid. κώμη N. T. passim); and it is probable that many of the eighty-seven bishops assembled at Carthage in the year 258 (Concil. Carthag. ap. Cypr.), were pastors of obscure village churches: for the very names of the places they came from are unknown to geographers. In some instances, as we learn from Justin Martyr (Apol. 2), who wrote about A.D. 140, the congregation, as was naturally to be expected, came partly from the neighbouring rural districts; and all who composed it, both of city and country, met together; and the '*bishop preached, and administered the Eucharist.*' Now whatever proof these passages afford that, in many places, the term 'bishop' must have been applied to the single minister of a congregation, and in others to one of the ministers who had acquired some kind of precedence by the concession of his brethren, (little, as it appears, in the first ages, in what that precedence consisted): at all events, we are at a loss to see how Mr. Boyd can reconcile many of these facts with diocesan episcopacy, as it afterwards existed, and still remains.

We must state, however, that while we reject the doctrine of the divine right of the episcopal form of church-government, as existing in the three orders of the clergy, and in the presidency of one supreme head over many separate and distant churches; and while we deprecate the absorption of the rights of the Christian assembly by the clergy: we are far from allowing the claim of divine right for the details of any other form of the church as actually administered. We agree with the opinion expressed in Hinds's 'Early Church,' that, in the New Testament, 'principles are given, but no specific rules.' That one form of church-order may be more consonant with those principles than another, we fully believe: but of this consonance, of course, every body of Christians must judge for itself. Into the question relating to the best system, we do not now enter. We are not engaging here in any quarrel with episcopacy as such, not even with that which is diocesan. What we deny is the divine right. Politically, and as citizens, we would say: let those who judge it proper to follow episcopacy for themselves, do so; without demanding that Christians who differ in opinion from them should be compelled, in any way, to support a form of the church from which they dissent; and without inflicting upon such any pains, penalties, privations, or disadvantages, on account of this difference. As Christians, we would say: we are sorry that any one



form of government should be insisted on, to the extent of making it essential to the genuineness and visible unity of the church of Christ; and that we believe, most conscientiously, that whoever does so, holding no fellowship with those who differ from him, and perhaps being accessory to their persecution, is the true *schismatic* of the New Testament. We can only hope that such mistaken professors of Christ's religion, are guilty of this utter violation of its whole genius through sheer ignorance and narrowness of soul. The episcopal church is to them *the church*: it bounds their whole horizon; and their vision is too dim to see any fair fields beyond its pale. About seventy millions profess protestantism in Europe and America; and, nevertheless, there are those who would confine the vineyard of God within the narrow limits of the Anglican church! The apostle Paul, in reference to his persecution of the disciples of Christ, states that he 'obtained mercy because he did it ignorantly, and in unbelief:' let us hope that our prejudiced and bigotted protestant brethren act in equal error; and that so great a sin as wilful hostility to Christians of all other denominations, may not be laid to their charge!

The remainder of our remarks must be confined to Mr. Boyd's chapter on the 'Monarch's Headship.' We quote the introduction to it as furnishing a specimen of the author's manner:

'The connexion of the civil power with the ecclesiastical, or as dissenters please to term it, the headship of the sovereign over the church, is a feature in the church of England as an establishment, on which our opponents rejoice to bestow a generous share of their vituperation. There is scarcely an insulting term in the vocabulary of invective which has not been employed in the work of convicting the church of voluntary slavery. It will be found that the tyranny whereby she is said to be oppressed, lives but in the willing and warm imaginations of those whose interest it is to malign her, or whose discontent and jealousy are roused into action by the contemplation of her superior advantages. The dignity of her position, the extent of her influence, the mating of her chief ecclesiastics with the nobles of the greatest empire in the world, the deference paid to religion in her person by assigning her prelates a seat in the legislature of the nation—all these are incentives to envy, and we know it is the infirmity of envy 'to hate the excellence it cannot reach.'

From the general spirit which we have observed to pervade Mr. Boyd's work, it would be useless, we apprehend, to attempt to convince him, and those who sympathize in his views and tone, that he does injustice to multitudes of pious men, both of past and present times, in imputing their objections to the church of England as allied with the civil government to

nothing better than 'envy.' For, unfortunately, the charity which 'thinketh no evil,' does not appear to form any very conspicuous portion of Mr. Boyd's creed. It is said of the patriarchs that, 'if they had been mindful of the country whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned: but now they desire a better.' It is to be supposed that if those who have, for centuries, dissented from the episcopal church in this country, whether of England or formerly of Rome, had been so envious of its privileges and distinctions, they would by this time have returned to its fold. But if it be true that the established church is so likely to awaken 'envy' in the bosoms of those who belong to other communions, we would wish to ask whether this is not, in itself, a proof that there is something wrong in it? When we read, in the New Testament, of the labours of Christ and his apostles, in the formation of the first Christian churches, and contemplate the whole result, we see nothing that is calculated to excite any of those passions which are blended with worldly self-interest. What sort of envy did the churches in Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria, stir up in the minds of men, when they 'walked in the fear of the Lord, and the comfort of the Holy Ghost?' What sort of envy would be excited by those ministers whose main distinction was expressed in the exhortation: 'watch thou in all things; endure afflictions; do the work of an evangelist; make full proof of thy ministry?' The kingdom which is 'not of this world,' is little likely to produce envy of its privileges in the minds of those that are 'without;' for this would induce them to become members of it, and to share in it. In fact it is, no doubt, a grand objection to all state-alliances of the church, that they involve more or less of plain injustice. The state says, and must say, when she patronises and endows any one form of the church: 'you who are of other communions may be very sincere, and possibly your opinions may be the true ones; but this is not and cannot be our concern; we hold out a *bonus* to those who belong to our church, and all others must submit to pay their share of its cost, without deriving the advantages from it which its own adherents do.' Now when we look at the question of church-establishments in this point of view, a point of view which is undoubtedly a legitimate one, we are at once led to ask, what is the great and preponderating advantage of the alliance, by which what appears on the face of it a piece of political injustice, is to be counterbalanced? Mr. Boyd, however, states that he is 'not now considering the expediency of religious establishments, or determining whether religion would best take hold of a country when left to its native power, or clad in the influence derived from national recognition:' he merely wishes, he says, to show

that 'the acts of the sovereign are not spiritual, that spiritual acts are done by the church itself, although the monarch abandoned the religion of the cross.' But in what light our author would view the measure of leaving the episcopal church, like the other churches in England, to provide for her own increasing wants, and to trust to her own resources, leaning no longer on the arm of the monarch, is of course evident enough:—

'Shorn of temporal power, she would still subsist amid the horrors of national defection and the ruins of national greatness, a maintainer of apostolic institutions. But we have perused the records of Christianity to no purpose, and compared vainly the condition of England as a Christian nation with that of any other nation in the world, if we see not reason to admire that wisdom which has profited by the experience of the past, and placed two such mighty powers as the state and the church in such happy relation to each other, that an equipoise is maintained without violence, and reciprocal benefits extended and received, without sacrilege on the one hand, or suberviency and compromise on the other. In the hasty consideration of this subject there is one point perpetually overlooked. When men speak of the encroachments of the state and the rights of the church, they picture to themselves two distinct bodies radically separate from each other. The facts are different. For the most part, the same individuals who compose the state also compose the church. The two parties consist of the same persons, only appearing in different characters. As members of the church they appear as religionists; as members of the state, as citizens.'

It is obvious that the very idea of such a state of things as a severance of the tie which now binds the episcopal church to the monarch's throne, fills our author's imagination with undefined images of terror. He appears to see nothing in the contemplation but religious apostacy and political ruin. But it is quite easy to conceive that the progress of public opinion, and of more spiritual views and feelings with regard to what religion truly is, in those who profess it, together with long experience of the difficulties in which the principle of state-patronage cannot but involve the government, may at last, in course of time, peaceably bring about even this change. Many churchmen have of late felt what they never did before on this subject, in consequence of the Maynooth Bill. Though conscientiously attached to the protestant establishment as it is, they have been ready to say, and they have said: 'If the endowment of the Romish priesthood in Ireland is to be the price which must be paid for the retention of our own state-connexion, let that connexion be dissolved.' We are but in the beginning, as yet, of the altered policy of the government. One thing is evident—that the



government no longer pretends, in the United Kingdom, to endow religion as protestant truth merely: the principle on which endowments are likely henceforth to proceed, is wholly that of expediency. The state has, in England, been connected with protestant episcopacy; in Scotland, with presbyterianism; and now the leaders of both parties in parliament, and apparently the great bulk of both houses, are ready to take Romanism into the state-connexion, in Ireland. This is on the principle of endowing the largest denomination: and if political considerations alone were to be regarded, we should say that the system was the only one on which a single privileged state-church ought to be formed. It is evident that the present government, and the present parliament, will rather make Romanism a co-ordinate establishment with the protestant church, in Ireland, (though the Irish have not asked for the boon,) than they will seriously go to the work of laying the axe at the root of Irish discontent, by redressing real civil grievances, and removing ecclesiastical exactions, and inequality, against which the voices of millions have been raised, till they have swollen into the almost universal cry of 'repeal.' We know not what view Mr. Boyd has taken of the turn which the affairs of his country have assumed during the late session of parliament; but we feel assured that nothing has transpired, for many years, which has been so calculated to read a lesson to all candid minds, in regard to the difficulties which beset the theory of continued state-grants for the support of religion. It is clear that this theory can only be carried out in practice, with anything like consistency, and to use a whig-phrase, *finality*, by endowing all. For, otherwise, endowments must continually vary with the ascendancy of parties; and, even then, justice to all will not be done; since the fact of a religious denomination being in the minority, is no fair ground for its not having equal privileges with others. The principle, then, of endowing religion by the state evidently tends, in the course of ages, to the endowment of all, even the most heterogeneous and opposite sects. Hence we see this principle extensively obtaining in some parts of the continent. But what is the natural effect, on the popular mind, of the union of the state with various and conflicting creeds—of Judaism and Christianity, Romanism and Protestantism, Unitarianism and Orthodoxy? Surely such multiform alliances must tend to produce the impression, in the popular mind, that there is no *objective* truth in religion, and that one creed is as good as another. Yet this is the only principle on which the state can act without inflicting injustice on all who are not of the favoured sects. We are aware that the evil tendency of endowing all opinions is denied: but we are by no means convinced,

by any argument which we have heard in favour of this principle, that it is reconcilable with any thing like a healthy state of religion in a country.

But Mr. Boyd sees in the vision of a church 'shorn of temporal power,' the 'horrors of national defection;' by which we suppose he means apostacy. Now we feel little less difficulty in realising the idea which we understand our author here to mean, than in realising the idea of a 'national conscience,' of which so much has been said in some quarters of late. Apostacy from the faith of Christ must be the act of the individual; as 'conscience' must be the attribute of an individual mind. Apostacy can only become national when the bulk of a nation, or at least the major part of its inhabitants, are guilty of renouncing the faith of Christ, just as we can only, with propriety, speak of the 'national conscience' when we mean the moral sentiment of the greater part of the people on some question of duty. Mr. Boyd, however, furnishes a probable key to what he means by 'national defection,' when he proceeds to assert that 'the same individuals, for the most part, compose both the church and the state: they only appear in different characters.' This we know is the theory of our established church, and a strange theory it is. The Anglican church is the established church of Ireland: but, in that country, what a fraction of the members of the state does she comprise! Even in England, what a vast body of the people are found without the pale of the establishment! But suppose that the church of England were the sole spiritual curator of all the inhabitants of both countries; that the domain of souls was all her own; and that she could say, like the mariner on the desert island, with none to dispute her reign, 'I am monarch of all I survey:' what are we to think of the principle that the church and the state are one? Will it be affirmed that by so saying, nothing more is meant than the fact that all would then be nominally her members? Does she not then pronounce them 'members of *Christ*, children of *God*, and inheritors of the *kingdom of heaven*?' Here then is one grand evil which has attached to all the established churches we have ever heard of: they have all, more or less, been wont to identify the church with the state. If this has been less the case with the church of Scotland than with some other churches; if, at all events, she has not uttered this theory in the same way as her loftier sister of England has done, it is that she was at the outset more of a reformed church; and the fruits of that reformation have been evident, inasmuch as that she has recently exhibited the memorable spectacle of a vast body of her sons feeling compelled, for conscience' sake, to relinquish all the privileges of her connexion with the state. But how can Mr. Boyd

reconcile with the New Testament his principle of regarding the state and the church as commensurate? He will surely gain nothing by saying that the church of England does not profess to be the church of Christ—even were this the fact. But she does profess it. She avows that all her children are members of Christ; and she pronounces every one whom she buries, be he who or what he may, a 'dear brother, who has died in 'sure and certain hope.'

We must leave our author to harmonize his theory of the church with that model of discipline which we find so plainly exhibited in the writings of the evangelists and the apostles; whatever latitude they may, by their silence on the subject, have left to the *minutiæ* of form and order. Failing, as we have endeavoured to show he has done, in his attempt to set up the claim of divine right for episcopacy, we must, in taking leave of him, do him the justice to say that his work is characterized by great industry and research, and by considerable learning. He has explored the Fathers with commendable care, and has spared no pains in the selection of passages. He has, also, shown great tact and judgment in his mode of putting his arguments; and he does not appear to have implicitly followed the method of any of his predecessors in the same path: he has thought and reasoned for himself. We cannot, indeed, commend the spirit in which he has written: it is by no means sufficiently respectful and candid towards his opponents. We believe that, in the diocese of Derry, there is a proportion of presbyterians to Anglicans of full two to one, and Mr. Boyd writes, in this controversy, like a man who feels annoyed at having disagreeable neighbours, whom he would like much better at a distance. But as to the skill and adroitness with which he has laboured to uphold (what we trust we have shown to be an untenable position) the divine and exclusive right of one particular form of the church, there is nothing to desiderate; however little impression this doctrine has made in quarters where Mr. Boyd would wish it to prevail. That *statesmen*, in general, have ceased to be much swayed by any such principle, from the time of King James and Lord Bacon, downwards, is evident; and it seems that our present statesmen bid fair to go still further in the same direction, by discarding in a more decisive way than before, any peculiar claim to state-alliance on the score of doctrine, or of protestantism itself. Come what may, therefore, it would appear that the united church of England and Ireland is no longer likely to retain her proud and exclusive position as the 'lady of kingdoms;' but if her divine right as episcopal, and as entitled to the 'headship of the monarch,' could have been identified with



what is truly divine in her reformed doctrines, she would not have needed a better champion than our author :

Si Pergama dextra  
Defendi possent, etiam hac defendere fuissent :

and the most devoted advocates of things ecclesiastical *as they are*, might have given to the winds all forebodings lest *Fuit Ilium* should ever be inscribed on the page of ecclesiastical history.

Art. II. 1. *Alfred, A Drama.* By Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart. London; Longman and Co.

2. *England Won, a Poem.* By John G. H. Bourne, formerly of Magdalen College, Oxford, author of the *Exile of Idria*, etc. London; Longman and Co.

3. *Dramatic Sketches and other Poems.* By the Rev. James Wills, A.M. Author of the 'Disembodied,' etc., etc. Dublin; Curry and Co.

4. *The Spirit of the Vatican, illustrated by Historical and Dramatic Sketches, etc.* By John Turnley. London; Cunningham.

5. *Legends of the Isles, and other Poems.* By Charles Mackay, author of the 'Salamandrine,' etc., etc. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

6. *Ballads and Poems.* Greenwich; Richardson.

7. *The Purgatory of Suicides, a Prison-Rhyme in ten books.* By Thomas Cooper, the Chartist. London; How.

AMID the whole race of men is there any class so singularly lucky as that of printers? Most men labour and spend themselves for their own benefit, but there is a large class who spend themselves in purse and person, solely for the benefit of printers, binders, and paper-makers. Three fourths of the books published never remunerate, in any shape, the authors, but it may be safely said that more than one half of them are actual losses to the writers. Of all these authors none are so determinedly blind to their own interests, and apparently bent at their own cost on enriching the captivating tribe of printers, as the writers of verse. Every popular mania besides the poetic mania cures itself, and comes to an end in a tolerably short period. The South Sea Bubble broke, and killed and cured its dupes in a style of good despatch. The Railway mania will ere long do the same; but the mania of writing in numbers, spite of all awful warnings, draws still such numbers daily into the circle of its fascinations as is quite astounding to contemplate. Every

week and almost every day presents a new candidate for poetic honours, who has to climb and stumble over a heap of dead men, or rather dead books, that would be enough to startle and set thinking any other class of moon-struck mortals. Let any one of these daring men, so prodigal of their time, their energies, and their money, look back, if they can do such a prudent thing, and behold the piles of new poems, so-called, that from year to year and month to month rise to view only to sink as speedily away again into the trunk-makers' and the grocers' clutches, for which good hard cash has been paid to printer and publisher, and which has brought nothing in return for the most exalted hopes, but hard knocks from the critics—and pause ere they add to the fatal number of the disappointed, of the simpletons who have given away their good coin to make the world wide awake to the fact of their failure.

But we write and speak in vain. Every light has its foolish flies that will buzz into it, and go off with singed wings and noses, and none so much as the light of poetry. Of the seven volumes that we have taken from the seventy and seven of recent appearance, and placed at the head of this article, we may most safely predict, that not more than two will pay expenses, and that four at least will be dead losses.

How many times has Alfred been dished up into an epic or a drama; yet here he is again, under the hands of no less than a baronet. John Bourne has given us 'England Won,' that is, a versification of the Norman conquest, and Mr. Wills has gone so far back as Nero, and joined him in his fiddling while Rome was burning. 'The Spirit of the Vatican,' has more apparent reference to our present sympathies. It is, no doubt, in the author's opinion a shrewd hit at the topic of the times, and in truth if it were a blow launched by the arm of genius at the great striving and plotting spirit of popery, might not only be well-timed but most useful. But genius is an endowment as rare as the desire of it is universal, and we are bound honestly to set down these four volumes as *very respectable*.

They are of that class to which there can be but one objection, that they are dull. They are well printed, handsomely bound, ushered into the world under the hands of most respectable publishers, a class of men as soberly awake as the authors are drunken and blinded by the fumes of their own vanity; a class, who would just as soon think of writing verses themselves, as of purchasing any thing in the shape of verse; but are most happy to *publish on commission*. Oh that commission! it is the commission, on the part of authors, of the maddest action that can be committed, next to self-destruction, for it is the suicide of the purse, the fountain of life's ease and family comfort. To say

that there is not talent in any one of these volumes would be too harsh. There is talent, much talent; talent that in a bank, an office, a shop, or a pulpit would win wealth, praise, and satisfaction, for it would be employed for the public good, and the happiness of wives and children; would light the evening lamp, pile the evening fire, bring in the evening tea-tray, and the book, rare of its kind, fraught with the living soul of the real genius, who, if he spend himself to little earthly gain, dies with the consolatory feeling that *his* pangs and poverty have sent into the hearts, and over the hearths of thousands, joy, and the spirit of a great resolve for virtue and humanity. But to the authors of such clever, gentlemanly, regular, mechanical volumes as these, and thousands of such of perpetual growth, these consolations never come, but instead of them, they hear their neighbours whisper, 'He is a bit of a poet;' and feel in their shrinking purses the remorseless finger of the fat and merry publisher.

What is most melancholy in authors of this class, is, that like gold-hunters and gamblers, one loss only spurs them on to effect another. We see it on most of these title-pages stated that they are the authors of still previous works, of which nobody but themselves, their printers, and publishers probably ever heard, as 'The Disembodied,' 'The Exile of Idria,' etc., etc. Mr. Wills has however, figured in Blackwood, in the Dublin Penny Journal, etc., a sufficient testimony that his articles possess some merit. In these media, where it is to be hoped that he was paid for them, they were most respectably and rationally disposed of; the irrational act was in collecting them into a volume, for which the author himself in his preface states that he scarcely expects readers. What, indeed, *do* nine-tenths of the writers of volumes of verse expect? The only *certain* results are mortification and the printer's bill.

Mr. Mackay has, however, claims to a surer circulation. He has sought and has already won it, for he has more in him than the mechanical; he has fancy, feeling, a conception of the great work of the world, human progress for human happiness, and probably with these, powers and qualities that he has yet scarcely shown, or is perhaps conscious of, but which, if he follow that great path of which he shows in this volume that he has got some stirring glimpses, will grow in him till they are too great to remain in him, but must out for God and the world.

Here it is that we come upon the true burden of our theme; on the true sense and object of poets and poetry. Here it is that we come too upon the grand mistake which many of those poetic writers, who really have the 'vision and the faculty divine,' daily commit to their own irreparable loss. The true



poet to seize on the full advantages, and to reap the full reward of his glorious vocation, must work in the better spirit of his time. It is not enough that he can gracefully dally with the flowers, and the breezes by the wayside; that he can feel and make felt the glories of nature, and weave into his lays the beams of sun, and moon, and stars. These the genuine poet must and will recognize in all their beauty, and appropriate them as costly material in building the house of his fame. He will fashion them into a rainbow that shall span the weeping vale of earth, and make it radiant with the hues of heaven, even when darkest with storms. But this is not enough. Man is the grand work of nature, or rather of God; and it is in man, and his destinies and struggles that the poet must find his noblest theme. The true vocation of the poet unquestionably is to animate the human race in its progress from barbarism towards virtue and greatness. He is appointed by Providence to arouse to generous exertion, and to console in distress. There is nothing so full of the elements of poetry as the fortunes and aspirations, and achievements of the vast human family. Its endeavours to escape from the sensual into the intellectual life; its errors, its failures, its sorrows, and its crimes, all are prolific of poetic and dramatic matter of the intensest interest. To guide and encourage humanity in its arduous, but ever onward career; to assist it to tread down despotism and oppression; to give effect to the tears and groans of the suffering; to trumpet abroad wrong in all its shapes; to whisper into the fainting soul the glorious hopes of a still higher existence—these are and have ever been the godlike tasks of the true poet, and therefore has he been styled a prophet, and a priest.

There never was an age in which the magnificent developments of human genius and intellectual energy, in which too the social position of society presented to the mind of the poet such stirring and magnificent themes as the present. We have advanced, in Europe and America at least, out of the first periods of barbarism and semi-barbarism. The religion of Christ has done a great work upon the earth in establishing as civil and as national principles the grand doctrines of human right, and in opening the general mind to the perception of the fact that virtue, happiness, and immortality, go hand in hand. We have uttered our judgment against slavery and war and priestcraft, and have given deep and incurable wounds to those enemies of the earth's repose, if we have not been yet able utterly to remove them to their true place, amongst the monstrosities which are only matter of memory and of wonder. But we see daily in the mind not merely of private society, and

of enlightened men in their writings, but in the mind of nations, and its expression through the press, that the leaven of peace and liberty is fast leavening the whole popular mass in most countries, and will ere long present glorious fruits. The energies which once manifested themselves in war, are now turned into the noble channels of moral investigation and scientific discovery. Steam, electricity, and chemistry are from day to day luminously revolutionizing all our modes of life and manner of thinking. By means of them 'many already run to and fro on the earth, and knowledge is increased.' But still,—there is a vast mountain of ignorance, of prejudices, and of crime and suffering to remove. The very light which is poured upon us only lays more bare to our astonishment, the social evils that have long walked about in the darkness. We see the multitude thronged together in misery, and the few only 'faring sumptuously every day.' With growing knowledge we must have more equable comfort, and means of virtuous and intellectual enjoyment. From factories and pits and dense allies, the weak and young cry out of oppressions that destroy body and soul, and they are the poets with the words of fire and feeling, at the head of preachers, literary and public men, who must be the great prophets of social sympathy, the heralds of justice, and christian kindness between man and man, if they do not desert their heaven-appointed post. One true word from them goes like an electric flash through all the joints and sinews of society. It is on the great subject of human right and christian love that they are only great to their possible extent. By this they seize at once on the whole world, and become famous in the same moment that they are the eternal benefactors of their fellow men. It is not the particular evil which they strike at and destroy, which measures the limits of their benefaction. They propagate a spirit which goes on operating the same moral changes from age to age. By the single poem of 'the Shirt,' Hood acquired more fame than by all the previous labours of twenty years. He became in an instant, the poet of the million, and instead of the smile which had illumined the face of jaded luxury at his puns, ten thousand blessings from the hearts of the wronged and afflicted rose up to heaven on his behalf. What is it that has given to Burns and Ebenezer Elliot, such a living place in the souls of the people. It is because, with all their love of nature, they had a still livelier love of man, and gave utterance to those great truths which became as soon as uttered, the property, the language, and the watchwords of the million in their grand quest after liberty and knowledge.

Let then those who will dally with barren fancy, or loitering on river banks, and in woodland dells, sing to the moon, or

apostrophize the wild flower, or the dewdrop,—the sagacious and the generous will see the great signs of the times; and the truly intellectual will gaze over the whole field of busy and struggling humanity, and pour forth their song of defiance to the banded tyrannies of social convention. They will join in rooting out the still strong evils that oppress our millions, and in the acclamations of grateful men yearning after a better life, in every sense of the word will find their proudest and their most lasting fame.

We are glad to see that Mr. Mackay has a decided tendency towards this true poetic track. The 'Legends of the Isles,' of which nearly the half of this volume consists, though written with great beauty, we leave, therefore, for 'the Voice of the Time;' 'the Death of Pan;' 'the Arriving Train;' 'Real and Ideal, a Colloquy;' 'the Feast of the Despots;' 'the Cry of the People;' 'the Coming Time,' and 'the Old and the New.' These are all imbued with the genuine spirit; they have the prophetic voice in them. Let us hear

### THE CRY OF THE PEOPLE.

#### I.

Our backs are bowed with the exceeding weight  
Of toil and sorrow; and our pallid faces  
Shrivel before their time. Early and late  
We labour in our old accustomed places  
Beside our close and melancholy looms;  
Or wither in the coal-seams dark and dreary;  
Or breathe sick vapours in o'er-crowded rooms;  
Or in the healthier fields dig till we weary,  
And grow old men ere we have reached our prime,  
With scarce a wish but death to ask of Time.

#### II.

For it is hard to labour night and day,  
With sleep-defrauded eyes and temples aching,  
To earn the scanty crust, which fails to stay  
The hunger of our little ones, that waking  
Weep for their daily bread. 'Tis hard to see  
The flowrets of our household fade in sadness,  
In the dark shadow of our misery.  
'Tis hard to have no thought of human gladness,  
But one engrossing agony for bread,  
To haunt us at our toil and in our bed.

#### III.

And many of us, worn with age and pain,—  
Old withered leaves of men, who, fading, cumber,  
Long for that pleasant fosse, six feet by twain,  
Impervious to all grief, where we may slumber.



And others of us, more unhappy still,  
 Youthful, warm-blooded, with a life to cherish,  
 Offer in vain our sinews and our skill,  
 For starving recompense, and yet must perish,  
 In our young days, and on a fruitful soil,  
 Because our food is dearer than our toil.

## IV.

Oh, it is bitter-hard to roam the earth,  
 Aliens to joy, with sad thoughts overflowing ;  
 To hear the young birds carol in their mirth ;  
 To feel the sunshine and the warm winds blowing ;  
 To see the beauty in the fields and floods ;  
 The plenty of the meadows green or golden ;  
 The full, fair orchards, redolent of buds,  
 And know that we, by a hard fate withholden,  
 Must keep our appetites aloof, nor dare  
 To taste the stores which happier birds may share.

## V.

'Tis hard to know that the increase of wealth  
 Makes us no richer, gives us no reliance ;  
 And that while ease, and luxury, and health,  
 Follow the footsteps of advancing science,  
 They shower no benefits on us, cast out  
 From the fair highways of the world, to wander  
 In dark paths darkly, groping still about,  
 And at each turn condemned to rest, and ponder,  
 If living be the only aim of life—  
 Mere living, purchased by perpetual strife.

## VI.

We rise in grief—in grief lie down again ;  
 And whither to turn for aid in our deep anguish  
 We know not—yet we feel that we are men,  
 Born to live out our days, and not to languish  
 As if we had no souls ; as if, stone blind,  
 We knew not spring was fair ; and that the summer  
 Ripened the fruits of earth with influence kind ;  
 That harvest ought to be a welcome comer,  
 To us and ours ; and that in Nature's face  
 Were smiles of joy for all the human race.

## VII.

We ask not much. We have no dread of toil ;—  
 Too happy we, if labour could provide us,  
 Even though we doubled all our sweat and moil,  
 Raiment, and food, and sheltering roofs to hide us  
 From the damp air, and from the winter's cold ;—  
 If we could see our wives contented round us,

And to our arms our little children fold,  
 Nor fear that next day's hunger should confound us.  
 With joys like these, and one sweet day of rest,  
 We would complain no more, but labour, blessed.

## VIII.

But these we sigh for all our days in vain,  
 And find no remedy where'er we seek it ;—  
 Some of us reckless, and grown mad with pain,  
 And hungry vengeance, have broke loose to wreak it :—  
 Have made huge bonfires of the hoarded corn,  
 And died despairing, Some to foreign regions,  
 Hopeless of this, have sailed away forlorn,  
 To find new homes, and swear a new allegiance.  
 But we that stayed behind had no relief,  
 No added corn, and no diminished grief.

## IX.

And rich men kindly urge us to endure,  
 And they will send us clergymen to bless us ;  
 And lords who play at cricket with the poor,  
 Think they have cured all evils that oppress us.  
 And then we think endurance is a crime ;  
 That those who wait for justice never gain it,  
 And that the multitudes are most sublime,  
 When rising armed, they combat to obtain it.  
 And dabbling in thick gore as if 'twere dew,  
 Seek not alone their rights, but vengeance too.

## X.

But these are evil thoughts ; for well we know,  
 From the sad history of all times and places,  
 That fire, and blood, and social overthrow,  
 Lead but to harder grinding of our faces  
 When all is over ; so, from strife withdrawn  
 We wait in patience through the night of sorrow,  
 And watch the far-off glimpses of the dawn,  
 That shall assure us of a brighter morrow.  
 And meanwhile from the over-burdened sod,  
 Our cry of anguish rises up to God.

The spirit of true social philosophy is finely developed in 'the Old and the New,' in which the genius of classical antiquity and of Christianity are made to discuss their peculiar merits and demerits. We regret that we are not able to transcribe this poem, but we may select a few verses. The classical spirit taunts that of Christianity :

Though great thy triumphs, greater still  
 The aggregate of human ill ;—

And narrow, narrow is the span  
On which, to bless the sons of man,  
The tide of effort ever ran.

'Look round the nation, and compare—  
Examine, that thou mayest declare  
What vast improvement has begun,  
And what two thousand years have done  
For those that toil beneath the sun,

'The people grovelled in my prime,  
They grovel in thy happier time;  
And suffering then, they suffer now;  
And if I left them slaves, hast thou  
Imprinted freedom on their brow?

'Hast thou given virtue to the base,  
Or flashed thy knowledge in their face?  
Hast thou conveyed to every shore  
The tidings thy Messiah bore,  
That thou should reign for ever more?

'Hast thou, e'en in the lands most bless'd  
With thy refinement, done thy best  
To ease the ills thou canst not cure,  
To teach the wretched to endure,  
And shower thy blessings on the poor?'

'I am but young,' the spirit said;  
'But yesterday I raised my head,  
And late began to understand—  
A mere new comer in the land,  
What was expected at my hand.

'Thy mission, unfulfilled by thee,  
Has gained some impulses from me;  
And every triumph of thy mind,  
Not forgotten for mankind,  
Has been led further and refined.

'Though narrow yet the sphere of thought,  
It has been widened since I wrought;  
And every seed that thou hast sown  
For human benefit has grown,  
And larger leaves and branches thrown,

'Beneath my care, and though dark night  
May spread a veil o'er human sight,  
I see far off the dawning ray;  
I labour to prepare the way,  
And watch the coming of the day.'



' And as the spirit spoke, his eyes  
 Flashed heavenly fire, and to the skies  
 Pointing his hand, he turned to me,  
 And said, 'Thou dreamer, wake, and see  
 The paradise that earth might be.' '

The great fault of Mr. Mackay's poetry is that it is too often an imitation of that of Alfred Tennyson. Alfred Tennyson has so beautiful and peculiar a music in his versification, that it should not be injured by imitations. Every writer of any power should moreover be too proud to imitate. He should follow his own bent, and aim at establishing a character of his own; but Miss Barrett copies to extravagance Tennyson, and Mr. Mackay seems to copy both Tennyson and Miss Barrett. This should be carefully avoided.

In the last volume on our list we come to a striking illustration of that theory of modern poetry which we have been propounding. Here we have a genuine poem springing out of the spirit of the times, and indeed out of the heart and experience of one who has wrestled with and suffered in it. It is no other than a poem in ten books, by a chartist, and who boldly sets his name and his profession of chartism on the title-page. It is plain that he glories in his political faith more than in his poetry, nay his verse is but the vehicle of that faith. Yet nevertheless it is a vigorous and most efficient vehicle. We must candidly confess that we have read the whole with a feeling of unfeigned astonishment. Mr. William Howitt, in his 'Rural Life of England,' has asserted that it is out of the rich, unploughed ground of the popular mind, that our literature is to look for its renovation; and volumes like this certainly go far to prove that the assertion is a truth.

Thomas Cooper, who was incarcerated at Stafford, and there tried on a charge of inciting the people of the potteries to incendiarism, and condemned to two years imprisonment in the jail of that place, there sits down, and like another John Bunyan, dreams. As to the *truth* of the charge from which he most eloquently defended himself on the trial, we must refer the reader to his own statement by way of preface to the book itself. We believe that he had no desire for, and no conception of the actual results of his fervid appeal to the colliers and potters of Hanley. But the fervour of his address had an effect something like that of John Knox on the Scotch; his hearers were excited to a degree of frenzy; they went away, attacked the house of a clergyman whom they regarded as one of their worst enemies, and, inflamed by the contents of his well-stored cellar, proceeded to outrages that ended in the destruction of several houses, and in the manifest injury of their own cause.

Though we believe that Thomas Cooper is quite innocent of any intentions that such should be the result of his harangue,—we believe him, after reading his volume, to be too sensible and too philosophical a man,—yet we are by no means surprised, having read his poetry, at the effect of his eloquence on the people. It is that of a soul full of thought, full of a burning zeal for liberty, and with a temperament that must and will into action. The man is all bone and sinew. He is one of those '*Terræ filii*,' that England, more than all the other nations of the earth put together, produces. One of the same class as Burns, Ebenezer Elliot, Fox, the Norwich weaver-boy, to say nothing of the Arkwrights, Smeatons, Brindleys, Chantry, and the like, all rising out of the labour-class into the class of the thinkers and builders up of English greatness. What is moreover singular is, that he is another of the shoemaker craft, that craft which has produced such a host of men of talents—as Hans Sachs, George Fox, Drew, Gifford of the '*Quarterly*,' and others. '*Till three-and-twenty*,' he says of himself, '*he bent over the last and the awl, struggling amidst weak health and deprivation to acquire a knowledge of languages,—and his experience in after life was, at first limited to the humble sphere of a school-master, and never enlarged beyond that of a laborious worker on a newspaper.*'

Here, then, we have a striking instance of what are, and are likely to be, the fruits of general education and mechanics' libraries. Genius, freed from the heavy clogs and bonds of ignorance, thus does and will more and more develope itself in the labouring class, and not only distinguish its possessors, but add rich treasures to the national literature. If it were needful to convince us what a mass of information men of this description will glean up, the present volume is a striking evidence of it. The author tells us that he has spent years in mastering languages as the keys of that knowledge which he thirsted after; and the book abounds with proof of the success of his endeavours. He appears to have revelled in history, ancient and modern. His acquirements in this department are quite amazing. It is probably this propensity to historic research which has suggested to him his subject—'*The Purgatory of Suicides*,' certainly a singular one. As a subject, we should say that it is rather curious than poetical; and although he has contrived to invest it with features and circumstances of grandeur, yet we must at the same time declare, that it is not the legitimate matter of the subject, but the introductions to each book, which are the truly poetical portions of the volume. These are full of passion, and sentiment of the highest poetical character. They are, as we have said too, full of the spirit and

tendencies of the present times. They are the actual produce of that spirit and tone of the great mass of the population of this country, which, under the influence of circumstances, good and evil, and of intellectual advance, are so interesting and so important for us to contemplate. They speak out to us what is passing in the depths of the popular mind. We do not hesitate to affirm, that these introductions stamp Thomas Cooper as a genuine poet of a high order. They place him at once beside that man of iron, Ebenezer Elliott. They are fraught with fire, power, tenderness, and a deep spirit of speculation on man and his prospects. We will briefly enumerate these striking exordia. The first is a call on the enslaved to free themselves, couched in terms such only as those who feel the wrongs and the oppressions of life are stimulated to use; and in pursuing the review of which, the poet is tempted to ask himself, 'Is life worth having?' This is the natural prelude to the great theme of his volume; and he soon finds himself voyaging through strange scenes, in company with a host of suicides. Like John Bunyan, he repeats the dream at will, and thus enters into the society of all the celebrated suicides of all ages. It is not till we are led by his demonstrations, that we become fully sensible of what a mighty host the suicidal portion of our race consists, and what a startling number of great names it includes. From the earliest age to the present, and in every country of the globe, men, and some, too, of high genius, fortune, and powers, have laid violent hands on themselves. Sardanapalus, Saul, Zimri, Achitophel, Eleazer Maccabæus, Ajax, Lycurgus, Charondas, Themistocles, Zeno, Demosthenes, Cleombrotus, Appius Claudius, Marc Anthony, Nero, Otho, Maximian, Mithridates, Lucretius, Brutus, Pompey, Lucan, Cato, Curtius, Caius Gracchus, Juba, Hannibal, Apicius, Sophonius Tigellinus, Petronius Arbiter, Atticus the friend of Cicero, Vibius Virius, with Sappho, Dido, Porcia, Arria, the wife of Asdrubal the Carthaginian, and numbers of other women. These names, taken without regard to order of time, and merely as they present themselves to the memory, are but a mere indication of the thousands in ancient times who fled from life by their own hand. The Greek and Roman annals abound with distinguished suicides. In every succeeding period, down to our own day, spite of the grand truths and awful warnings promulgated in Christianity, the case is the same. Pontalba, Villeneuve, Condorcet, Roland, Marshal Berthier, Pétion, Chatterton, Castlereagh, Romilly, Whitbread, etc. These have their numbers swelled to vast hosts by being—



‘ With sages blended,  
 Uncrowned, unsceptred, all their haught looks ended,  
 With bards, and workers out of human weal,  
 And patriots who in lofty deed transcended  
 Their fellows. Ghosts of erring zeal  
 For faiths fantastic, creeds incomprehensible,

• And cruel idol-worship, whom I saw  
 Climbing the mount of vanity,—the wild  
 Lone dweller in the cave, whose rage with awe  
 I witness’d ’mong his snakes—the poet-child  
 With his lamenting harp, who wept, exiled  
 To forest-solitude,—the tuneful choir  
 Of bards who walked the grove—the band who toiled  
 For aye, to kindle the fierce fatal fire  
 Of soul wherewith France lit the devastating pyre

Of Liberty,—a moiety of the ghosts  
 Who idly lay along the beach i’ th’ land  
 Of sloth and devastation,—sorrow’s hosts.’—book x. p. 327.

• Of every age, and every mortal clime  
 They were ; and ’twas appalling their array  
 To view, and think of nations choosing crime  
 Of suicide,—hastening themselves to slay,—  
 Rather than be their butcherous brethren’s prey !—  
 book viii. p. 271.

But this awful spectacle has led us from our immediate object. The introduction to the second book is an invocation to the poetic spirits of England, and contains a splendid eulogium on Milton, one of the noblest to be found in any author. The next is an apostrophe to the sun, but turns into a pathetic and beautiful tribute to the author’s mother. The fourth book is opened with a very poetical address to the robin, but speedily turns, as the poor man’s thoughts, especially those of the agricultural labourer now do, from the amenities of nature to the crushing miseries of his condition.

‘ Alas, poor bird ! thy lay  
 And all its sweetness is forgot ; their want  
 Of bread hath banished thoughts of Robin’s chaunt :  
 The children plenty know no more ; and Love  
 And Gentleness have fled from hunger’s haunt :—  
 Fled is all worship for fair things that rove  
 Among fair flowers—worship in young hearts sweetly wove.

Fair Nature charms not ; fellowship of song  
 And beauty,—germs from which grow, for the good  
 Reverence, and for the frail—though wrong—

Pity and tenderness ;—all these the rude  
 Chill breath of Want hath stifled in the bud ;  
 And beggar quarrels for their scanty crust  
 Now fill the bosoms of the lean, dwarfed brood,  
 The peasant-father—sprung from sires robust—  
 Beholds at home, and wishes he were laid in dust !

Ah ! darling Robin,—thou wilt soon behold  
 No homes for poor men on old England's shore :—  
 No homes but the vile gaol, or viler fold  
 Reared by new rule to herd the ' surplus poor.'—p. 131.

Book the fifth opens with an apostrophe to night, and what is the night to which the mind of the poor is irresistibly turned ? It is not that of the fair moon, and the deep blue vault of heaven brilliant with stars, but the night of short rest from the wheel and the ill-paid loom.

' Darkness ! thy sceptre still maintain,—for thou  
 Some scanty sleep to England's slaves dost bring :  
 Leicester's starved stockingers their misery now  
 Forget ; and Manchester's pale tenderling,—  
 The famished factory-child,—its suffering  
 A while exchangeth for a pleasant dream !  
 Dream on poor infant wretch ! mammon may wring  
 From out thy tender heart, at the first gleam  
 Of light, the life-drop, and exhaust its feeble stream !'

Book the sixth begins with an execution, and calls forth the anathemas of the poet of the poor on the state of the criminal laws, and on capital punishment. London, with its splendour and its misery, its mammon worshippers and its strange regions of wretchedness and guilt, opens with a powerful but lurid picture the seventh. The commencement of the eighth book is a grand hymn to the progress of knowledge, religious information, and to the glory of the great men who have been the devoted labourers of love and human happiness. This one portion is a superb and beautiful outpouring of a poetry worthy of the highest name in the art, making us almost unjust to its real author, by causing us to forget that he is a poor and self-taught man, the son of a poor woman who

toiled to win her child a crust,  
 And fainting, still toiled on.

Book the ninth begins with an address to woman, of equal beauty, and in its first stanzas presents another wringing reality, not uncommon in the life of the poor.

'Tis woman's voice ! woman in wailful grief,  
 Joined by her babe's scarce conscious sympathy.  
 Thy wife hath come to take her farewell brief,  
 Gaunt felon ! Brief and bitter must it be  
 For thy babe's mother, since the wide salt sea  
 Must roll, for life, its deep, dark gulph between  
 Thee, convict, and that form of agony !  
 Poor wretched thing ! well may she wail, I ween,  
 And wring her hands, and wish that she had never been !

“ Let me have one last kiss of my poor babe ! ”  
 He saith, and clingeth to the grate. Oh ! how  
 The turnkey's answer will his bosom stab !—  
 ‘ Away ! we open not the bars ! ’ and lo !  
 They push him rudely back ! he may not know  
 What baleful bliss it is to clasp a child  
 Or wife, ere one must yield them to life's woe.  
 Oh ! little had that kiss his grief beguiled,  
 But rather, filled his soul with after throes more wild.

She fainteth ! yet awakes to moan and weep !  
 How little didst thou think that smiling morn  
 Thou didst, so early and so eager, peep  
 Into thy mirror, and thy breast adorn  
 With virgin-rose, so soon the sorrow-thorn  
 Would there have pierced, and thou, in two short years,  
 Would see thy husband in that dress of scorn,  
 And thou, a widowed bride, a thing of tears,  
 From that stern grate, forlorn, to meet the world's rude jeers !

p. 283.

The tenth and last book opens with an invocation to liberty, in which, after a scarifying appeal to Lord Brougham, as the author of the New Poor Law Act, by the apt epithet of ‘ Harlequin Demosthenes,’ he breaks out into a jubilant assurance of the triumph of freedom. This we must take as our last quotation because it demonstrates the operation of that salutary change of opinion amongst the Chartists, which has led them to abandon the fatal dream of physical force, and to rely, like enlightened men, on the omnipotence of moral power and knowledge.

O ! not by changeling, tyrant, tool, or knave,  
 Thy march, blest liberty ! can now be stayed !  
 The wand of Guttemberg—behold it wave !  
 The spell is burst ! the dark enchantments fade  
 Of wrinkled ignorance ! ’Twas she betrayed  
 Thy first born children, and so oft threw down  
 The mounds of Freedom. Lo ! the Book its aid,  
 Hath brought ! the feudal serf—though still a clown,  
 Doth read ;—and where his sires gave homage, pays,—a frown.



The sinewy artizan,—the weaver lean,—  
 The shrunken stockinger,—the miner swarth,—  
 Read, think, and feel; and in their eyes the sheen  
 Of burning thought betokens thy young birth  
 Within their souls, blythe Liberty! That earth  
 Would thus be kindled from the humble spark,  
 Ye caught from him of Mentz, and scattered forth,—  
 Faust,—Koster,—Caxton!—not 'the clerk,'  
 Himself could prophecy in your own mid-age dark!  
 And yet, O liberty! these humble toilers,  
 The true foundation for thy reign begun.—  
 Aye, and while throne-craft decks man's murderous spoilers,  
 While feverous power mocks the weary sun,  
 With steed throned effigies of Wellington,  
 And columned piles to Nelson,—Labour's child  
 Turns from their haughty forms to muse upon  
 The page by their blood-chronicle defiled;—  
 Then, bending o'er his toil, weighs well the record wild.  
 Aye, they are thinking,—at the frame and loom,  
 At bench, and forge, and in the bowelled mine;  
 And when the scanty hour of rest is come,  
 Again they read,—to think and to divine,  
 How it hath come to pass, that toil must pine  
 While sloth doth revel;—how the game of blood  
 Hath served their tyrants; how the scheme malign  
 Of priests hath crushed them; and resolve doth bud,  
 To band—and to bring back the primal brotherhood.  
 What though awhile the braggart-tongued poltroon,  
 False demagogue, or hireling base, impede  
 The union they affect to aid? Right soon  
 Deep thought to such 'conspiracy' shall lead,  
 As will result in a successful deed—  
*Not forceful, but fraternal*: for the past  
 Hath warned the Million that they must succeed  
 By will, and not by war. Yet to hold fast  
 Men's rage when they are starving—'tis a struggle vast!  
 A struggle that were vain unless the Book  
 Had kindled light within the toiler's soul,  
 And taught him though 'tis difficult to brook  
 Contempt and hunger,—yet he must controul  
 Revenge, or it will leave him more in thrall.  
 The pike,—the brand,—the blaze,—his lesson saith,  
 Would leave Old England as they have left Gaul—  
 Bondaged to sceptred cunning. Thus their wrath  
 The Million quell, but look for right with firmest faith.

p.p. 307—8.

The number of works that we have here brought under review  
 have precluded our giving so much notice of Thomas Cooper as

we think the importance of his volume deserves. Greatly as we estimate the power of the author, we must at the same time state that the work is by no means devoid of faults, on the contrary it is crowded with them, and some of them of a very serious nature. There is a great obscurity frequently in working out the story and the dialogue; an odd jumbling of ancient and modern personages together. The versification is often rude and prosaic in the extreme, betraying great haste, and culpable neglect of retouching and polishing. But what is of far graver moment is the tendency of certain theological opinions, which as a volume likely to fall into the hands of the working and little educated classes we cannot too severely denounce. The author has evidently advanced in his political notions, which though extreme, cannot now be termed unconstitutional. We trust earnestly that he will see cause to revise some of his religious notions, and that if he have occasion to issue a new edition of his poem, it may have the highly desirable benefit of the change.

If he steadily hold on in single-heartedness towards the fount of true wisdom, there can be no question that he has before him not only a certain and high reputation, but what is of far more consequence, may become a real benefactor to his fellow countrymen of the million in their pursuit of sound knowledge and sound liberty.

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Art. III.—*The Hexaplar Psalter. The Book of Psalms: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English: the Hebrew text after Vanderhooght; the Greek of the Seventy; the vulgate Latin, Jerome's Hebrew Latin; the English liturgical version, and the English authorized version; in six parallel columns.* London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, Paternoster-row.

2. ספר המזמרים. *The Book of Psalms, Hebrew and English, arranged in parallel columns.* London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1843.

3. *The Interlineary Hebrew and English Psalter. In which the construction of every word is indicated, and the root of each distinguished by the use of hollow and other types.* London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1845.

WHEN we remember that, with the exception of Aldus's unique page of Genesis preserved in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* at Paris, the Psalter was the first portion of scripture printed in polyglott, it is surprising that there should have been so

few separate polyglott editions of it subsequent to the commencement of the sixteenth century. This is the more remarkable because the Psalms are, for various reasons, more generally and habitually read than any other portion of the Old Testament; a circumstance which has caused it to be frequently selected as a praxis reading-book in the study of Hebrew. From this cause we have, indeed, numerous *diglots*, some in Hebrew and Greek, others in Hebrew and Latin, and others in Hebrew and English, or some other modern language; as we have some in which the Hebrew is not included, e.g., the Arabic and Latin of Scionati, and the Syriac and Latin of Dathe. But as far as our memory now serves us, no *separate* polyglott Psalter was published from the date of Hutter's *Psalterium Harmonicum*, in 1602, until the appearance of Messrs. Bagster's *Hexaplar*, whose title we have given above. We do not except the volume containing the Hebrew Psalter, and several versions of it, which the same enterprising publishers issued, we believe, some years since, for this, if published with a separate title, was, in fact, part of their entire polyglott bible. And we omit, for similar reason, the '*Psalterium Davidis et quinque Libri Sapientiales*, Heb., Chald., Lat., and Gr., *fol.*,' published at Paris in 1645, as this was from the Parisian Polyglott of Le Jay.

The first printed polyglott, excepting, as already noticed, the unique leaf, printed by Aldus Manutius, at the very close of the fifteenth century, and which contains the first fifteen verses of Genesis in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, was the Pentaglott, or octaplar Psalter of Agustino Giustiniani, bishop of Nebbio, in Corsica. This was printed in 1576, in medium folio. It was followed in 1518, by one entitled, '*Psalterium in quatuor linguis, Hebræa, Græca, Chaldæa, Latina*,' published at Cologne, in small folio, by John Potkeu, the editor of the first Ethiopic Psalter in 1513. In 1530 appeared the '*Psalterium Sextuplex. Hebræum, cum tribus Latinis, viz., Divi Hieronymi, R. P. Sanctis Pagnini, et Felicis Pratensis. Græcum septuaginta interpretum, cum Latina vulgata*.' This was printed by Sebastian Gryphius, at Lyons. In 1645, Peter Becker published one at Basel, in 8vo., under the title, '*Psalterium Davidis trilingue. Additis aliquot doctissimorum virorum correctionibus juxta hebraicam veritatem per Petrum Artopœum*.' This Psalter, which, following Münster's first edition, deviates very widely in the Hebrew from the received text, was reprinted in 1548. In 1602, Hutter published his '*Psalterium Harmonicum, Ebraicè Græcè, Latinè, Germanicè*,' at Nuremberg, in 8vo.

Baumgarten in the seventh volume of his '*Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*, [Accounts of Remarkable Books] gives an interesting relation respecting the Pentaglott of Giustiniani.



Having recited the Latin title-page, the printer's colophon, and Gustiniani's dedication to Leo the Tenth, in which he declares that he had prepared the whole Bible in the same way, and that it was his intention to put it to press if the Psalter met with due favour, he adds:—In the *Annali de Genoa per Agostino Giustiniani*, Genoese, Vescovo di Nibbio, Lib. v. p. 224, etc., the author relates very plainly and circumstantially how much he had been deceived in his hope of obtaining some remuneration for the publication of this Psalter. For when, through the interest of Cardinal Santi, his cousin-german, he had, in 1514, been appointed to the Bishopric of Nebbio, in Corsica, he had ordered two thousand copies of this Psalter to be printed on paper, and fifty on vellum, the latter of which he had distributed in presents, without being reimbursed even for the cost of printing, notwithstanding which, he had not been able to sell more than a fourth part of the other copies. That he, therefore, had presented the manuscript of the whole New Testament, which he had prepared in the same manner, with other books, to the Republic of Genoa, and had left the Old Testament uncompleted.

We hope, for Messrs. Bagster's sake, that the cool reception Giustiniani's Polyglott Psalter met with, as described in the preceding account, which so vividly recalls the memory of poor Castell's sufferings and disappointment over his stupendous Heptaglott Lexicon, will not be exemplified again in reference to their new Hexaplar. The progress of sacred learning has doubtless brought with it a large increase in the number of purchasers of such books. It is, indeed, equally true that this age, like all others, runs after what is specious and pleasing, rather than what is solid, and spends its money rather to pamper the imagination, than inform the intellect. Psalters—especially Polyglott Psalters—have, even in this age, so remarkable both for its religion and its utilitarianism, no chance in competition with romances. Messrs. Bagster's perseverance in their peculiar line of publishing intimates, however, that it is not so profitless to them as it was to the Bishop of Nebbio; and we are confident that if their new Polyglott Psalter needs any thing, in addition to its intrinsic merits, to recommend it to public favour, its remarkable cheapness will have that effect.

The Psalter is a Quadruglott, presenting the original Hebrew, the Septuagint, two Latin, and two English versions to view at every opening. We transcribe from the editor's preface his account of the texts and versions selected, with such reasons for the selection as he has thought proper to give:—

'The Hebrew is accurately taken from the edition of Vanderhoogt, 1705, and verified by a comparison with more recent reprints

of that edition, so as to avoid any continuance of typographical errors.

'The Greek exhibits the Vatican text of the Septuagint, as edited by Bos, 1709.

'One of the Latin translations is the Vulgate, the character of which is too well known to require any explanation, but which certainly does not exhibit so close a connection with the Hebrew text as the other Latin version, which is called the *Versio Hebraica Hieronymi*. By means of the former of these, we may gain much help in understanding the Greek translation, from which it was evidently taken; but the Latin is the more close representation of the Hebrew, and, as such, the more valuable as a guide to the translation, and as a token how the Hebrew text stood in Jerome's time. This version is found in Jerome's works, in the *Psalterium Quincuplex*, and in Sabatier's collection of the old Latin translations.

'Of our own two translations, and of the advantage of having them both under the eye at one glance, and of the interest of comparing them with each other, it is unnecessary to speak. Of their correspondence with the best editions of our Bibles, the student may be assured by examination; by which means, also, he will gain much useful insight into the necessity of watching against those little variations and minor inaccuracies, which, after the lapse of many years, often occasion a reprint to require a diligent collation with its original.—*Preface*, p. 2.

The selection of versions was of course made with a view to satisfy the tastes and wishes of those who were expected to purchase the volume. To this cause we probably owe the insertion of the English version incorporated into the Anglican Liturgy, but which is of no critical importance. For critical purposes, the selection would have been much improved, had the Chaldee, or some other ancient version been substituted for that from the Liturgy, but we doubt if the volume would have been more generally acceptable, or even *more generally* useful with that selection than it is at present. It is but justice to say that the whole is very clearly and correctly printed; that the Hebrew and Greek types in particular are remarkably distinct and beautiful; and that the scholar must be fastidious indeed who, wanting a Polyglott Psalter for purposes of biblical study, is not satisfied with this.

Not in any respect to detract from the character already given of the work, but really and truly to improve it, we shall mention a few oversights which ought to be corrected in a second edition. The work is introduced with an English title-page and preface. The whole of the 'setting' should have been in harmony with this. On the half-title, however, we have '*Liber Psalmorum*,' and while the Hebrew and Greek columns are headed respectively *תהלים* or *ΨΑΛΜΟΙ*, the rest are headed in Latin—*Psalterium Liturgiae*; *Versio Vulgata*; *Versio Heb. Hieron.*

Versio Anglicana (1611.). This is surely affectation and pedantry. Why not head them: Original Hebrew: Septuagint, or, (if preferred,) Alexandrine Greek version: English version from Cranmer's Bible: Latin Vulgate: Jerome's Latin from the Hebrew: English version from King James's Bible, (1611). As to the titles *Psalterium Liturgiae* and *Versio Hebraica Hieronymi*, they are calculated to mislead. A reader would suppose that the former denoted a version peculiar to the Liturgy and prepared for it, rather than one taken from Tyndale's and Coverdale's translation of the whole scriptures, as corrected by Cranmer's authority. He would also suppose, but for the specimen appended, that '*Versio Hebraica Hieronymi*' meant rather Jerome's Hebrew Version than Jerome's Version from the Hebrew. These oversights, though we cheerfully admit that they do not detract, even in the smallest degree, from the usefulness of the book, are really blemishes, and should be corrected in another edition. We trust also that, in the next edition, Coverdale's authorship of the older English version will be duly recognised. To suggest this to the Messrs. Bagster seems almost needless, for no publishers have done so much to adorn his memory as they have. We sincerely wish the present edition such success that the next may speedily appear.\*

And now a few words for the two diglots. It is sufficient recommendation if the Hebrew text of the ספר חזקוני, (the volume marked No. 2, in our enumeration at the head of this article) that, corresponding line for line, and word for word, indeed in every thing except length of page, with the Hebrew column of the Hexaplar, it is equal to it in correctness and beauty. With the authorized English version, printed in paragraphs at the side, in the manner of Messrs. Bagster's Critical Greek Testament, it might be considered a companion to it, but that the page is larger. The Kri and Khetibh are given at the end of the book, and the various readings of the English at the foot of each page. It is a truly elegant and captivating volume.

The object and character of the '*Interlineary Hebrew and English Psalter*,' (No. 3 in our enumeration) is generally described in the title page. To give an adequate idea of it, however, to such of our readers as may be interested in knowing more exactly what the volume is, we shall quote, in part, the explanation given in the preface:—

\* It may seem hypercriticism, and, doubtless there are many who would consider our remarks very unnecessary, but we cannot help observing that the arrangement of the columns on the page is somewhat arbitrary and unscientific. Why should Coverdale's version come between the Hebrew and the Vulgate? or all the Latin and English versions divide the Hebrew and the Septuagint? The chronological order would, it seems to us, have been highly preferable on every ground.



'The Hebrew text is printed with care according to Vander Hooght. The servile letters are distinguished by hollow types, the root remaining black: and in all cases where a radical letter has been dropped from a word, it is supplied in small type above the line.

'The English translation has been made as literal as seemed practically useful; and the greatest possible *uniformity* in rendering the Hebrew has been preserved. Every needless variation of the translation, when the original remained the same, has been avoided.

'In many instances, however, strict uniformity of rendering would have altered the true sense: as in the case of verbs having both transitive and intransitive meaning—in words applied to God—and when the context affected the signification. These peculiarities have been observed.

'Words which cannot be expressed in English are marked with )( . This is almost exclusively confined to נחם.

'Words which the idiom of the English language has required are enclosed between [ ].\* All supplied words are enclosed within ( ).

'The Hebrew article, when prefixed to substantives, has been distinguished thus 'the'; but this was not always practicable before participles and adjectives. The interrogative ׀ is marked by a prefixed (?).

We can hardly conceive of more care being taken, or of pains more judiciously applied to attain the object in view than this interlineary Psalter exhibits. The professions of the preface are adhered to throughout, and the clearness which results from this is well seconded by the neatness and distinctness of the press-work. In this respect the interlineary Psalter is far before any other interlineary book we remember to have seen. We cordially recommend it to those who approve, as to a certain extent we do, of the use of such helps at the commencement of the study of a language. Those persons will assuredly not think their money ill laid out in the purchase of such an edition as this.

Both this and the last noticed Psalter are finished on good but fine paper, in order to bind in a thin pocket volume with Messrs. Baxter's new Hebrew English Lexicon which we recently noticed. Hebrew students owe no small thanks to the enterprising firm which has supplied them with so many admir-

\* This must be a misprint. A few examples from the book will shew that the editor meant to say: 'words which the idiom of the English language has *not* required, are enclosed between [ ].' The following are a few instances taken at random from the book. 'Not they believed [to] his word,' (Heb. לֹא־אֱמָנוּ) Ps. cvi. 24. 'Not they heard [in] the voice (Heb. שָׁמְעוּ) of Jehovah,' Ps. cvi. 25. 'I said in my haste every [the] man (Heb. כָּל־אִישׁ) is a liar,' Ps. cxviii. 11. 'Thou hast understood [to] my thought (Heb. חִשְׁבֹתִי) afar off.' Ps. cxxxix. 2.

able aids at so cheap a rate, and we hope that their gratitude is being rendered, not, like the approbation of critics, in mere praise, but in the substantial form of a steady and increasing demand for the books.

It will be obvious to all who are acquainted with the Englishman's Hebrew Concordance which we reviewed a short time since, that the works here noticed have in view precisely the same end with that concordance, viz.: to facilitate an acquaintance with the inspired treasures of divine revelation. In closing the present notice we take the opportunity it affords us of offering a suggestion respecting that concordance and its Greek companion, which we omitted in its proper place. We regretted, when the article in question had been put to press, that we had neglected to draw the attention of missionaries and missionary societies to those concordances. To all missionaries who are engaged in preparing translations of the holy scriptures into the languages of the heathen, those works are calculated to render very important aid; and it is our deliberate opinion, and one which we are anxious to express, that the missionary station which is destitute of a copy of them, wants one of the most convenient aids which literary diligence has ever contributed to the great enterprize of communicating the word of life to the heathen.

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Art. IV.—*Heidelberg, and the way thither.* By Nil. London: Dyer and Co., Paternoster-Row. 1845.

IN this little book, there are so many good and practical remarks on German travels, and German society; and so much beauty in many of its descriptions of German scenes, that we regret to be compelled to notice several rather serious superfluities in its contents, and a few deformities in its style. But we would willingly make it a valuable little companion to our wandering countrymen, the more valuable because even more portable, by suggesting a few improvements in the future editions, to which we predict it will run.

Even taken as it is, some half dozen observations make it well worth buying by all who would prepare in their winter's select reading for as pleasant and profitable an excursion next summer near home, as the whole world offers, viz., one *through Holland* to Heidelberg, as the author advises; but returning home by a new route, which we will venture to offer as in more respects than one, a welcome addition to his book.

Having given some useful rules how a family may best establish themselves at Heidelberg, the place of his residence, the

author recommends two or three other things necessary to be observed, to 'get on comfortably':—

'Do not allow your servants to borrow any thing of other people in the house. Pay for every thing in ready money, and pay it yourself, not through your servants. Bills are unsafe things any where, but particularly abroad. If you have any complaint to make to your landlord, make it yourself, and not through your domestics.

'The main thing, however, is the agreement; without it, every other precaution will fail to secure your comfort.'

The form of such an agreement is accordingly given by Nil in German; and he adds a wise recommendation to have every thing in 'black and white,' *even down to the agreed price of any article of dress.* (pp. 215—16.)

We add to our author's cautionary motives for this practice, that it gradually accumulates a stock of authentic information, sometimes important to be had at hand, and always calculated to improve the journals of those who keep them, or to instruct inquisitive friends.

The advice as to the stock of clothes and other personal conveniences to be carried out from England, is generally sound; but an exception must be made in at least one article, *German stockings, all kinds of which the author stoutly condemns.* We could tell him of more than one village near Heidelberg, where he may get better and cheaper *shooting and walking hose*, than can be found in any lane in Nottingham.

For Nil's enthusiastic descriptions of some of the numerous sweet scenes about Heidelberg, we must be content to refer generally to the book, in pages 146 to 148, 162 to 176, 194 to 206, including an amusing and useful story to those who may be disposed to follow his steps in a trout-fishing excursion. These and several other passages abound in poetical images, expressed in refined language, and the book has further merits in numerous details, about steamers, and inns, and lodgings, which will fully repay its price.

We turn to its faults; which are somewhat formidable, if indeed our opinion be just that, in a volume of two hundred and seventy-six pages, the whole of chapters iii., iv., vii., viii., and xi., and very large portions of chapters ix., x., xii., and xiii., amounting, altogether, to one hundred and fifty pages, either do not concern '*Heidelberg, and the way to it,*' at all, or are expressed in terms altogether beneath the general style of the book.

What, for instance, can the condition of Belgium\*, through which country Nil *does not even pass*, have to do with a resi-

\* pp. 155 and 172.



dence in Heidelberg, and the journey thither through Holland? Nil is conscious of his error. He 'cannot get on without *digressions*.' He says he rambles into Belgium when he 'ought to have been in Baden.' (p. 157.) His excuse is, that *he is not used to writing books*.' (p. 32.) Our vocation of critic permits us to observe, then, for his instruction, that it is a golden rule to preserve an *unity* in authorship. Above all, in a book of travels, it is indispensable to write about the country you are travelling in, and as much as may be *about this country alone*.

Again, the discussion about *Puseyism* and the Church of England, when the author is at Mainz, is sadly out of place. (pp. 84—91.)

Liking for Nil's book, which treats admirably of many things, people, and places about Heidelberg, familiar to us, is the motive for our thus advising him to correct it; and we insist on his unsparingly striking out all such trivial jokes as those about Ned Sheety, the Irishman, and the Scotchman's pigs. (p. 157.)

We share the author's preference of the *Moselle* to the Rhine. At least, we advise all travellers to Heidelberg to come home either that way through Trèves, and Luxembourg, or by Zweybruck, or Deuxponts, and Richard Cœur de Lion's famous place of confinement, towards Lille—Cassel, and Calais. The voyage out should be made through *Holland*, as Nil recommends. But the return should be in October by this new way among the most delightful scenes in Old Europe, Celtic Europe, Roman Europe, and Europe of the middle ages, and of modern times—rich in every recollection of history, and in every variety of nature, and ending in the *shortest* possible sea voyage, that from Calais to Dover.

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Art. V.—*Memoirs of Prince Charles Stuart, (Count of Albany), commonly called the Young Pretender; with Notices of the Rebellion in 1745.* By Charles Louis Klose, Esq. 2 Vols. London: Colburn.

JUST one hundred years have passed away, since our great-grandfathers, and grandmothers, in the midst of their steady, quiet, prosperous, though somewhat common-place avocations; in the midst of their formal tea-drinkings, and sober club-meetings; in the midst, alas! even of their boasts of 'liberty and property,' of 'Protestant ascendancy,' 'our glorious constitution,' and the undoubted right of Britannia to rule the waves—were startled by the incredible intelligence, that the young

Pretender, had not only landed in Scotland, and been received by the Highland clans with enthusiasm, but had actually crossed the border, and was marching, with no one could tell how many thousand wild Highlanders, direct upon London! It is indeed curious, and to those who at the distance of a century view the progress of the rebellion of 1745, even amusing, to observe how after determinately refusing to believe that there was the slightest truth in the existing rumours, the good people of England when convinced, though bitterly against their wills, of the contrary, starting up in a paroxysm of terror so great as almost to prevent their helping themselves, passed within the short space of two or three days, from the one extreme of confirmed scepticism, to the opposite one of indiscriminate belief.

When a short time since we passed some pleasant mornings turning over several volumes of the leading papers of the long-remembered 'year forty-five,' we were forcibly struck with this. At the very period of the young Pretender's landing—even a fortnight later, when the Duke of Newcastle was sending the most urgent letters into Scotland, and his brother Henry Pelham—the actual prime minister, remarked in a confidential note to Lord Hardwick, 'I never was in so much apprehension as at present,' the leading papers still keep on prosing about 'the balance of power in Europe'—that darling topic of our great-grandfathers—about 'reasons why Marshall Saxe should not have won the battle of Fontenoy,' with eulogies on the Queen of Hungary, and occasional grumblings about Hanover. Even when the fact that the heir of the Stuarts had actually landed could no longer be unknown, the whole newspaper press with perverse unanimity agree in viewing the account as apocryphal, and as being doubtless one of those convenient falsehoods, which the Jacobites were accustomed from time to time to put forth. The truth really was, that, thanks to Walpole—who of all men was most indebted to the Pretender, for the good service his dreaded name had done, as 'a word of fear,' both to a stubborn king, and a timid parliament,—the cry of 'wolf' had been raised so often, that, just as in the fable, when he was actually at the door, no one believed it. It was this perverse popular disbelief which added so largely to the anxieties and responsibilities of the ministry, and doubtless, greatly encouraged the hopes of the young adventurer as to a re-action throughout England in his favour.

At length—'a change comes o'er the spirit' of those daily papers; and they all suddenly find that the country is likely to fall a prey to 'a horrid popish, devilish, Jacobitical plot,' as one of them expresses it, for the second city of the empire is

actually in possession of the young Pretender, and 'James VIII. of Scotland, and III. of England, has been proclaimed king at the Cross of Edinburgh! And now, most curious and amusing is the change of tone and feeling. The 'Daily Advertiser,' the 'General Evening Post,' the 'Westminster Journal,' leave, with one accord, the balance of power, the Queen of Hungary, even Hanover, to shift for themselves, and forthwith flaming letters, brimful of loyalty, from some half dozen Juniiuses and Scaevolus appeared, intermixed with wretched doggrel setting forth the pleasure of dying for 'Great George our King,' and our 'glorious constitution;' and exhibiting historical parallels about as veracious as many of those of the British Reformation Society. Among the minor papers this newly awakened enthusiasm displays itself most laughably, sometimes by stirring addresses to all 'beef-eating Britons,' sometimes by pathetic exhortations to 'Protestant boys,' or 'jolly tars,' while the 'London Penny Post,' forthwith places in bold type at the foot of the first page, 'No wooden shoes,' 'No arbitrary power.'

Happily for our forefathers, indeed, even for us, this violent re-action saved our country from a third infliction of the house of Stuart; for these extravagant fears did good service by their very violence, in thoroughly arousing the public mind, which in those quiet and prosperous days had slumbered so soundly as actually to require being most vigorously awakened. But the shock of this awakening was long felt, and some of our readers can doubtless remember the solemn earnestness with which old men would relate their reminiscences of 'the forty-five.'

The work before us, which, as we learn from the preface, is translated from the German, appears to have been published a few years since: though neither the place where it was published, nor the time, are told us. It is on the whole, a well written and tolerably correct work; but it aims rather at being a biography of the last prince of the Stuart race, than an historical memoir of that stirring episode, which forms the only portion, worthy record, of a life lengthened out to almost fourscore years. In the career of Charles Edward, except as connected with his wild and romantic expedition to England, our readers can feel little interest; we shall, therefore, confine our attention chiefly to this event, correcting or supplying in the course of our narrative the occasional mistakes or deficiencies of the author, by notices drawn from more authentic sources.

To any one who looks over the history of our country from the time of the Revolution, to the period we are now entering on, the utter want of principle in successive ministries must excite the utmost disgust. When we read,—not in histories



written to subserve the purposes of a party, but in letters, never intended to meet any eye but that for which they were written,—the shameless bargainings for places and pensions; the undisguised contempt of high principle, even of truth; the constant coquetting, nay, sometimes actual collusion with the family to whose expulsion these very men owed their places of trust and responsibility, we can with difficulty believe that scarcely two—in the earlier instances, but *one* generation, separated these degenerate Englishmen from the noble spirits of the Commonwealth; and we feel half angry at the eulogies pronounced on such a state of things, by a Watts, a Doddridge, and even by a Bradbury. It is, therefore, most important when viewing this period, not only to bear in mind the outrageous tyranny of the two later Stuarts, from which, with all its imperfections, the Revolution of eighty-eight delivered our fathers, but also the *general* character of the succeeding governments. While the *men*, Whig and Tory, with scarcely a single exception, may be most justly denounced, many of their *measures*—in their *home* policy, especially—are deserving of much praise. Commerce, which under the Stuarts had always languished, received a fresh impulse from the period of the Revolution; and under the protection of our triumphant navy, our merchant vessels swept from Hudson's Bay to the Spanish Main, and visited the farthest East, laying the foundation of that mightier empire than the sons of Timour could ever establish. Trade too, was protected, for there were few vexatious imposts—the excise laws, not having been past until 1742, and manufactures were greatly encouraged; so that with the exception of the crisis denominated the 'South Sea Bubble,'—in itself a proof of prosperity, since it is only where money is abundant, that such wild speculations have any chance of success—England may be considered to have been gradually rising to wealth and importance, hitherto unattained. Indeed some political economists incline to view the earlier half of the last century as the most *steadily* prosperous period of our history.

As a natural consequence, the mercantile interest rose in importance, and even in documents of Queen Anne's days, we can perceive the growing attention paid by each ministry to 'the merchants and bankers,'—the attention to the latter class, probably, however, growing out of the circumstance of the national debt.

Meanwhile, many of the ancient nobility, and the country gentlemen generally, found themselves comparatively neglected; and as a matter of course directed their anxious thoughts 'over the water.' Now although the ministers might occasionally cast

a glance thither themselves, this was not to be allowed to others, and the very men therefore who were engaged in secret correspondence with St. Germain, exhibited the most patriotic activity in arresting some junior branch of an old catholic family, or in sending some Jacobite gentleman to the Tower. We, who have the advantage of comparing their private thoughts with their public conduct, are naturally indignant at such treason,—not against reigning families, or governments, as such,—but against truth and principle; yet to our forefathers, who could only judge of these men by their overt acts, we may easily imagine that they appeared true patriots. They protested their interest in the prosperity of the country, and England certainly was prosperous; they reiterated their professions of attachment to religious liberty, and those who had been years ago imprisoned for nonconformity, looked complacently on their commodious meeting-houses, and admiring a king who received their addresses with his own hand, and gave them that hand to kiss, naturally believed all that was told them.

Nor are we inclined to believe that *all* the protestations either of king, or minister were hollow. The house of Brunswick from its accession stood pledged in the eyes of Europe to the two grand principles of civil and religious liberty—the right of a people to choose its own rulers, and the right of every subject to choose his own religion. With many ‘short comings’ on these all important subjects, they were still in the main adhered to, during the reigns of the first two Georges; and that it was indispensable thus to adhere, seems to us emphatically proved by the whole career of that minister of thirty years standing,—Walpole, who though he scrupled at few things, never dared to attack these.

Although it would be asserting too much to say that the first two Georges were *popular*, still, we are inclined to believe that they were more so than either Charles, or James. The merchants, traders, and manufacturers, together with their numerous dependents, were wholly in their favour. The old Whig nobility, and their tenantry were also; while that large class of gentry, or small landholders, who had no violent political predilections, would quietly fall in with the system of ‘things as they are, as a matter of course.’ The strong hold of Jacobitism in England, was, therefore, among those few noblemen, who though they had not risked the forfeiture of their estates, still professed sympathy with the exiled family; among the Roman Catholic families, and their tenantry in the north, and north-western parts of England, and among that certainly too numerous class of country gentlemen, whose pleasant occupa-

tion under the Stuarts had been to hunt hares, and nonconformists, but who being now strictly confined to the smaller game, were loud in their abuse of 'Hanover rats.'

Such, we think, was the state of parties in England about the period we have now to consider. In Scotland, however, the case was widely different. Ever since the Restoration, the majority of the Scottish nobility had adhered to the Stuarts, not only from political predilection, but from national feeling. They were 'their ain kings,' and with the spirit of clansmen they followed their banner. The inhabitants of the whole of the Highlands were at this period considered by the Lowlanders as a different race; but these were all bound to the house of Stuart, not only from the principle of clanship, but by the stronger bond of a similar religious faith. Among the inhabitants of Scotland, the house of Brunswick could count, therefore, upon few beside the Lowland gentry and the traders in the towns. These might have done much as a counterbalance; but the Act of Union, which deprived Scotland of her ancient parliament, and which after violent opposition was passed in 1707, greatly alienated the minds of this class from England. By them, no less than by the decided Jacobites, it was viewed as a degradation; and the very protection which it afforded appeared only as part of a deeply-laid scheme to deprive them of their liberty.

The first attempt to re-establish the Stuart dynasty, grew out of the general discontent expressed at the Union, and it failed rather from bad management than from want of encouragement, so far as Scotland was involved. Thirty years passed ere a second attempt was made, and then the grandson of James II., the eldest son of the Pretender, was the leader.

Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, as he was generally called, was born at Rome on the last day of the year 1720, amid the thunders of artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, and the gratulations of the Pope and Cardinals; the former presenting the father and mother, each, with 10,000 scudi. The infant, immediately after his birth, was exhibited to a crowd of Italian prelates and nobles, among whom mingled a few Scotch and English, upon a state-bed, under a splendid canopy, while in the pope's own chapel, and in his presence, a solemn *Te Deum* was chanted. All this was, we think, sufficiently un-English; nor was the education of the young prince conducted in a less foreign manner. His first instructors—if by such a name they could be called—were the Earl, and the Countess of Inverness, the openly avowed mistress of his father, and a Miss Sheldon. Subsequently he was taken under the care of his injured mother, a princess descended from John Sobieski, and by her committed to



the superintendence of the Chevalier Ramsay, and afterwards of one Thomas Sheridan. The writer of the work before us complains of Lord Mahon's remark, that Charles Edward was 'deficient in the most common elements of knowledge,' but he altogether fails to disprove it. In 1735, Charles lost his mother, and the father now led a more retired life than ever,—spending his morning in prayers at the tomb of a wife, whose days had been shortened by his infidelity, and then partaking dinner 'with ten persons attached to his court,' whom he left early in the evening. This mode of life must have been sufficiently monotonous and wearisome to a spirited boy; but in his fourteenth year he was sent, under the protection of the Duke of Berwick, in order that he might be initiated into the art of war, at the siege of Gaëta. Before his departure, Charles had an interview with Pope Clement XII., by whom he was always recognised as heir-apparent of the British throne, and as such honoured with an arm-chair; and from the hands of the ruler of papal Christendom, the young aspirant, on whom the eyes of so many episcopalians were fixed in longing affection, received the payment of his military outfit.

That a 'true prince,' even at the age of thirteen and three-quarters, should exhibit marvellous wisdom and marvellous intrepidity, was a matter of course: but that his cousin Don Carlos, of Spain, should have presented him with a valuable jewel, and saluted him by the title of 'Prince of Wales,' shows, we think, that the boy, even at that early age, possessed an energy of character which the enemies of England rejoiced to behold.

In September young Charles returned to Rome, waited on the pope, and on this occasion received from him 'a special bull, declaring him qualified to enjoy all spiritual benefices, and conferring on him the general expectancy of the same.' The wording of this is very obscure, probably arising from a double translation; still it shows plainly enough by how many links the Pope sought to bind the aspirant to the British throne to him. A second time young Charles 'smelt gunpowder,' during the campaign of the allied army in Lombardy. The time, however, approached, when it was resolved that he should make a tour through the principal cities of Italy. This took place in 1737; when he adopted the title of Count of Albany, and set out with a suite of about ten persons.

'With this view he left Rome on the 29th of April, and passed through Loretto, Bologna, Parma, Genoa, Milan, and Venice. At the last named city he made some stay, and returned by Padua, Bologna, and Florence, to Rome, where he arrived again on the 9th of July. During this tour the young prince had been the object of much

respectful attention. In Bologna, the Cardinal Legate and a deputation of four senators, came to wait upon him; in Genoa, the same compliment was paid him by the Spanish envoy and the heads of the noble houses; and at Milan he was visited by the aged General von Traun, then governor of Lombardy. In Venice, he was not only invited to the senate, but the seat was assigned to him that had usually been reserved for crowned heads when they visited the city. At Venice also he had an opportunity of conferring, for about an hour, in the Church of St. George, with the young Elector of Bavaria, who afterwards wore the imperial crown of Germany, under the title of Charles VII. In Florence a variety of balls and entertainments were given in honour of the Count of Albany's visit; and at the court he would likewise have been an object of the most marked attention, had it not been for the jealous interference of the English minister. This interference was perfectly in accordance with the steps to which the prince's Italian tour gave rise in London. The British government, without the least reserve, required of Guastalli, the Genoese resident secretary at London, that he should intimate to the authorities of the republic, that its interests would be better consulted by showing respect to the reigning dynasty in England than to the family of the Stuarts; and the reception which Charles had met with in Venice was taken so much amiss, that Businiello, the Venetian resident in London, was directed, without ceremony, to leave England within three days'—vol. i. pp. 112—114.

The conduct of the British administration on this occasion was, however, strictly in accordance with international law.

Our author, on this part of his subject, indulges in much sentimental twaddle, such as the eager glances of his hero 'toward the open sea,' and his anxiety to 'distinguish the British flag.' Now these are no proofs of his love for England. Indeed, for her, her institutions, and her people, how *could* he have any? The resident at Rome from his earliest years, the favorite *protégé* of the Pope, the son of a foreign mother, of a foreign-born father—surrounded, too, by friends who viewed the restoration of his family as a conquest, what sympathy could he possibly have with England?

We have thus minutely traced the early career of Charles, because, for want of contemplating their hero before he appears on the stage of public life, many historians have altogether mistaken his character, and consequently his motives. It has been forgetfulness of this, that has exhibited Cromwell as the *personal* enemy of the king; whereas a reference to his early history will prove, that of all the agents in the great civil war, he stands freest from such a charge. It has been forgetfulness, or neglect of this, that has, in the case before us, induced many writers to believe that the young Pretender actually felt a love for Britain; whereas, from the circumstances of his early years,

he must have felt quite as much love for Sweden or Denmark. That he was anxious to become king of Great Britain is evident, and the reasons are evident also; but as to true English feeling, the young Pretender, and the 'wee German lairdie,' might just shake hands about it.

Up to 1741 Europe had enjoyed tolerable repose. At this period the war of the queen of Hungary, as it was in England popularly called, began. In 1743, England took the part, and it certainly was the side of justice, of Maria Theresa; and France, of the king of Prussia. To take advantage of this war, to advance the claims of the Stuarts, seemed to the Scottish Jacobites most desirable; and they accordingly formed an association for the purpose. Almost simultaneously an association of English Jacobites was formed; and both the Scotch and English urged upon the old Pretender the necessity of securing the aid of France. Cardinal Fleury, in answer to James's application, promised 13,000 men to be landed in the Scottish Highlands, and 10,000, under Marshal Saxe, to be landed near London. We think this alone sufficient to throw discredit on the Jacobite statement, that the country was ready to hail the return of the Stuarts. Preparations went on, young Charles was invited to France, and the old Pretender put forth two proclamations appointing his son regent, and calling on the people of the United Kingdom to take up arms. These proclamations are not given; but they should have been, since to us their animus is certainly that of a man who considers himself robbed of his property, and determined to recover it by all means.

Early in 1744 Charles set out for Paris. Fifteen ships of the line and five frigates soon after made their appearance in the Channel; and a message from the king to the parliament, and addresses from both houses full of loyalty, showed that the nation was aware of the enterprize. By a singular intervention—may we not call it—of Providence, this fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, in which several transports with troops were lost, many vessels dismasted, and the project was abandoned. War was now declared against France; the alarm at the intended invasion subsided; and, occupied in the queen of Hungary's war, as it was called, all expectation of a renewal of the attempt seems to have passed away.

Not until the next spring did the young adventurer make his second attempt; and then, wearied at the delays of the French government, he actually embarked without their aid. For the necessary expenses he pawned his jewels, which seem to have been very valuable; two of his adherents raised him 180,000 livres; and Antony Walsh, a Jacobite settled at



Nantes, and one Rutledge, supplied the two vessels, together with arms and powder, in which he was to sail for Scotland. Again delays took place, but at length, about the middle of July, they left Belle-Isle. On the fourth day of the voyage the two vessels fell in with the *Lion*, a fifty-eight-gun ship, commanded by the gallant Captain Brett, well known to the readers of Anson's Voyage. The larger vessel engaged the *Lion*, but was compelled to put into Brest; while the *Dentelle*, on board which Charles was, escaped. The following day, however, the little vessel was chased by an English man-of-war; but at length it safely anchored in the small island of Erisca, one of the Hebrides, on the 2nd of August.

'On the following morning, Charles sent a messenger to Macdonald of Clanranald, the proprietor of that and the neighbouring islands, and whom he knew to be devoted to his cause. Clanranald happened to be absent on the mainland; the prince, therefore, despatched a second messenger to Clanranald's uncle, Macdonald of Boisdale, who chanced at the time to be in the vicinity, and whom he invited to repair immediately on board of the *Dentelle*. Boisdale appeared, but only to express his firm conviction that the enterprise must necessarily end in disaster; without the least reserve, he called it one verging on insanity; assured the prince that, as he had arrived in Scotland without French aid, he must neither reckon on Clanranald, nor on Alexander Macdonald, nor the Laird of MacLeod, two chiefs on whose devotion to his cause Charles had placed the firmest reliance. The old man urged the immediate return of the whole expedition, as the only course that remained open. It was in vain that Charles employed all his powers of persuasion to represent his affairs in a more favourable light to the ancient partisan of his family; Boisdale remained inflexible, and went back to his isle in a boat.'—*ib.* p. 182.

The little vessel, bearing what the Jacobites fondly called 'Cæsar and his fortunes,' next anchored on the coast of Inverness, and a messenger was sent to Clanranald to invite him on board, but he declined taking any part in the coming contest.

'During their conversation, Charles and the chiefs had been walking up and down the deck. A Highlander stood near them, armed at all points, according to the custom of the country. He was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, and had come into the vessel without the slightest knowledge as to who was on board. The conversation, however, to which he had been a witness, had made him aware of the truth, and had evidently thrown him into the greatest agitation. When he gathered from the discourse that the stranger was the Prince of Wales, and when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms for their rightful sovereign, as they believed him, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his

place, and instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword. Charles observed the excitement of the young mountaineer, and suddenly turned upon him with the words, 'Will you, at least, assist me?' 'I will, I will!' cried Ranald; 'though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword for you, I am ready to die for you.' Charles eagerly thanked the warm-hearted youth, saying that he only wished all the Highlanders were like him. The implied reproach was scarcely needed. The enthusiasm of Ranald immediately communicated itself to the chiefs. The voice of prudence was no longer listened to. They at once declared themselves ready to make every sacrifice, and to use every exertion to arm their countrymen once more for the house of Stuart, if the prince was not to be shaken in his resolution to hazard everything on a desperate throw.—*ib.* pp. 184—186.

Charles now landed. He was conducted to Borodale, and was entertained with his followers by Angus Macdonald. While here the highland chieftains flocked to him; and when he went on to Kinloch Moidart, he was met by Murray of Broughton, the chief agent of the Lowland Jacobites. The time had now arrived for a more open manifestation, and accordingly, on the 19th of August, Charles unfurled his father's banner in the vale of Glenfinnan.

Meanwhile, it may well be asked what was doing in England, and the answer must be, just nothing at all. The case was, that although Henry Pelham and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, were leaders of the ministry, they were far from possessing even the usual power, much less that power which was necessary for men with such responsibilities, and at such a crisis. It was only in the spring that they had been able to surmount the opposition of Lord Granville, and his party; but although in the House of Commons they were triumphant, it was well known that the king viewed them with absolute hatred. Although, too, on the whole, they had a majority among their colleagues, still there were some that hampered them greatly. One of these was Lord Chesterfield, who it was believed would willingly give in his adhesion to 'James III. of England,' for a due 'consideration;' and the Marquess of Tweeddale was another, a warm friend of Lord Granville, and of course a bitter opponent of the Pelhams, and he held the important office of secretary of state for Scotland.

From the Pelham correspondence we learn that Mr. Trevor, minister at the Hague, sent notice to the Duke of Newcastle, even at the time of the young Pretender having set sail; and in consequence, the proclamation, offering £30,000 for him if he should land, appeared. But the proclamation excited no attention, and a fortnight passed away, in which nothing was

done save an urgent message to the king, who was in Hanover, entreating his return. This message the king seems to have viewed as some official trick—Walpole had sufficiently accustomed him to such—and he therefore did not hurry himself to comply. In the mean time, the Duke of Argyle was in daily correspondence with the ministers, praying for a greater military force to be sent to Scotland. This was ridiculed by the Marquess of Tweeddale; and about this time Mr. Pelham writes, ‘I am not so apprehensive of the zeal and strength of our enemies, as of the inability or languidness of our friends.’ The first news of the young Pretender’s landing, does not seem, indeed, to have awakened fear in any part of the country. Meanwhile, the Highland clans were flocking to the adventurer, and his army was daily increasing: and at length King George, on the 31st, returned from Hanover. He received the Pelhams very coldly, expressed his disbelief of the extent of the rebellion, and it was with the greatest difficulty they could obtain his consent to the return of four regiments from Flanders.

On the 3rd of September part of the Highland army entered Perth, and proclaimed the old Pretender king at the cross, and his son regent; and the news of this seems at length to have convinced the king that the Pelhams had not been alarmed without cause. From Perth, the young Pretender’s progress toward Edinburgh was unopposed. He proceeded, crossing the plain of Bannockburn, to Falkirk, and thence to Linlithgow. To Edinburgh his march was now directed, and the magistrates who only ten days before had sent up a most loyal and dutiful address to the king, saw the city gates opened, and the troops of the Pretender quietly admitted. ‘It passed as quietly,’ says Home, ‘as when one guard relieves another.’

At day-break, the Camerons marched up to the cross, and there they remained until mid-day.

‘At noon, another striking spectacle was presented to the inhabitants of Edinburgh. At the old Cross, already so renowned in Scottish annals, the heralds and pursuivants, in their ancient and gorgeous official costume, came forward to proclaim King James VIII., and to read the royal declarations and commissions of regency, which were received by the populace with the loudest acclamations. The wild music of the pibrochs mingled with the shouts of the crowd; a thousand fair hands waved with white handkerchiefs in honour of the day, from the neighbouring windows and balconies; and Mrs. Murray of Broughton, a lady of distinguished beauty, sat on horseback near the Cross, with a drawn sword in one hand, and with the other distributing white cockades, the symbol of attachment to the house of Stuart.



'The excited multitude, however, had not yet beheld the hero of the day. It was not till noon that Charles set forth to take possession of Holyrood House, the palace of his ancestors. To arrive there, it was necessary to make a considerable round, in order to avoid the guns of the castle. He entered the King's Park by a breach which had been made in the wall, and proceeded towards the palace by the Duke's Walk, so termed because it had been the favourite resort of his grandfather, James II., when he resided in Scotland, as Duke of York, some years before his accession to the throne. Thus far Charles had proceeded on foot, but the gathering and impatient crowd pressed around with such eagerness to kiss his hand or touch his garments, that he was forced to mount on horseback, when he continued his way, with the Duke of Perth on one side and Lord Elcho, who had joined him the preceding night, on the other. His noble mien and his graceful horsemanship, says Mahon, could not fail to strike even the most indifferent spectators; and they were scarcely less pleased at his national dress—a tartan coat, a blue bonnet with a white cockade, and a star of the order of St. Andrew. With fonder partiality, the Jacobites compared his features to those of his ancestor, Robert Bruce, or sought some other resemblance among the pictures of his ancestors that still decorate the gallery of Holyrood. The joy of the adherents of his house knew no bounds. The air resounded with their acclamations; and as he rode onward, 'his boots were dimmed with their kisses and tears.' The palace of his ancestors was found by Charles nearly in the same condition in which his grandfather had left it, with the exception of the catholic chapel, which had been destroyed by the populace in 1688. The long deserted chambers were that evening enlivened by a ball; and, as on the eve of another great battle,

"The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;  
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when  
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,  
Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again,  
And all went merry as a marriage bell."

'The fatigues of the preceding days, and the anxiety that could not but be felt with respect to the coming battle, were alike unable to depress the boyant spirits of Charles, or to impair his natural vivacity and power of pleasing. The enthusiasm of the ladies was unbounded, and many a fair waverer was perhaps confirmed in her devotion to the house of Stuart, by the graceful dancing of so handsome a representative of Scotland's rightful kings.'—*ib.* pp. 262—265.

On turning to the newspapers of the period, it is curious to see how rapidly the fears of all classes in England now increase. Advertisements from the different London parishes appear, offering bounties of five pounds a head for each able-bodied man who will enlist; the train bands are summoned to attend, that the oath pledging them to war à

*Poutrance* against popery and Jacobitism may be duly administered; the address of the Corporation of London denounces in good set terms, 'this unnatural rebellion, and the Archbishop of York urges the gentry throughout his diocese to form an association, not only to withstand the pope, and the pretender, but 'to uphold our rights and liberties against the encroachments of arbitrary power'—rare words these, from an archbishop! And influential words were they, for £90,000 were soon subscribed by the gentry, in support of the government.

A more important aid was offered by the London merchants, who consented to take bank notes instead of specie; and when on the 26th of September the agreement was prepared for signature, no less than *eleven hundred and forty\** signed, in the short space of *three hours*. All these names are given in the Gazette, and on looking over them, we were struck with the number of 'old familiar names' that appear. Full half, we should say, on the most moderate computation, are still well known names in the city. It has been traditionally asserted, that this was arranged by the leading dissenters, and from the anxiety with which they naturally viewed the invasion of a Stuart, we think it probably was the case.

But their anxieties were to be farther awakened, and their indignation raised to the highest point, when the rumour that a battle had been fought, and that English soldiers had actually fled, was confirmed by the extraordinary Gazette of September 28th, and the name of Colonel Gardiner appeared in the list of the slain at Prestonpans. Colonel Gardiner, long recognised as one of the most gallant veterans in the English army, was claimed as the peculiar property of the dissenters, and the death of the disciple of Dr. Calamy, and the warm friend of Doddridge, was viewed as a martyrdom. Many were the funeral sermons preached on the occasion in the meeting houses of London, and earnest were the exhortations of the ministers to their flocks to act worthy of their forefathers. The cry through all London now seems to have been 'to arms.' Troops of horse were raised, volunteer companies formed, the trained bands were regularly drilled, and while exhortations to loyalty in papers, and speeches and pamphlets abounded, due care was taken to denounce the principles of the Stuarts; and once more, even in the government papers, the names of Pym, Hampden, nay of Cromwell himself, were pronounced with warm eulogy.

Among those who particularly distinguished themselves at this crisis, were the Spitalfields silk manufacturers, who, grate-

\* The whole number of signatures were more than fifteen hundred.

ful for the protection afforded them, not only entered into a liberal subscription, but 'considering the great and many blessings we enjoy under his most sacred and illustrious majesty,' agreed to raise, and arm at their own cost, a body of soldiers, from among their own workmen. The French extraction of these worthy men may be recognized in the reverential terms in which they approach the throne. In their address there is no mention of liberty, or of rights secured by the English constitution. For the religious freedom they enjoyed, they appear most grateful; but of civil freedom, the only basis of the other, they seem to have no idea. They raised, however, nearly *three thousand* men, who, if ignorant of *civil* liberty, would assuredly have stood fast against the encroachments of that religion, which had murdered their pastors, burnt their dwellings, and cast them forth as homeless exiles. On the 2nd of October the bishop of London, and the clergy of his diocese, went up with an address to the king at Kensington palace. In this address, although there is much rigmarole about popery and church and state, they declare 'that there is no safety for the religion and liberties of this country, but in the protestant succession.' It was certainly almost worth the fears of a rebellion, to find the established clergy taking the name of liberty on their lips.

In far better style is the address of the three denominations of protestant dissenters, which was presented by the Rev. Joseph Stennett at the same palace the following day. Our limits will not permit us to copy the whole of this well written address, in which, neither the contemptible phrase 'sacred majesty,' nor the degrading word 'toleration,' find a place; but we must give the concluding paragraph:—'As the religious and civil liberties, the happiness and honour of the nation, have been always your unwearied care, we cannot but detest and abhor the present unnatural and rebellious attempt, nor shall we ever cease to offer our fervent prayers for the preservation of your majesty's invaluable life, the tranquillity of your reign, and the conveyance of our liberties under the protection of your royal house to the end of time.'

The king's answer is short\*; it might, we thought, have been more courteous; but on turning to his answer to the address of the university of Cambridge a few days before, we found that with the exception of 'constitution in church and state,' it is almost the same. We learn from the papers of the day, that the deputation was most courteously received, and intro-

\* 'I thank you for your loyal address, and have a firm dependence on your steady attachment to my person and government. You may be assured of the continuance of my protection.'



duced into the king's presence by the Duke of Newcastle. The numerous accounts which now filled the papers of the disastrous defeat at Preston Pans, still farther increased the feeling against the young Pretender. Was England to be invaded by troops of barbarians, who rushed to battle with savage yells, and armed with scythes and pitchforks? Was the crown of the Plantagenets to be placed on the brow of him who had marched at their head in Highland brogues, dressed in tartan, and wielding a Highland broadsword? We cannot indeed wonder that the circumstances of this first battle should strike men's minds forcibly, for Colonel Gardiner received his death wound from a scythe; and this dwelt upon the minds of the troops even at the battle of Culloden, and many a Highlander was there sacrificed to the memory of that gallant leader.

The exultation of Charles and his followers was excessive. Messengers were dispatched to France and to Rome with the tidings, and preceded by a hundred pipers, playing that peculiarly Cavalier air, 'The king shall enjoy his own again,' he made his triumphal re-entry into Edinburgh. While here, he exercised every regal function. He gave patents of nobility, issued proclamations, and among others, one denouncing 'the pretended parliament of the Elector of Hanover,' and warning the English not to attend it. He also issued another, arguing with the people upon their hostility to the Stuarts, and promising 'full enjoyment of their laws and liberties!' This, in time of need, had too often been done by his great uncle and grandfather, for any one to believe it.

The stay of Charles at Edinburgh continued until the 31st of October. This was partly owing to the defection of many of the Highlanders, who, loaded with plunder after the battle of Preston, returned to the Highlands to secure it: but we think it was much more owing to the unwillingness of his Scottish adherents to advance into England, until the Jacobites there had committed themselves with the government, by some overt act. Meantime the popular feeling against the Pretender deepened in England; while not improbably, the partiality he expressed for the Highlanders, and his willingness to play the king at Holyrood, rather than advance, damped the ardour of his English adherents.

On the 9th of October, the city trained bands were ordered to mount guard at the Royal Exchange, St. Dunstan's in the West, St. Sepulchre's, and Devonshire Square; and the Tower Hamlets were ordered out for the same duty, along the eastern boundary. Money from various associations, and from the city companies, was poured into the Treasury, and even the Quakers, precluded by their religious tenets from directly aiding war.

fare, raised a subscription to supply the troops with 'flannel waistcoats for the winter.' That the writer of the work before us should believe that, had Charles boldly pressed on, London might have fallen into his hands, may be excused; but that Lord Mahon, accurate and well informed as *he* is generally, should think so, is to us astonishing, and could, we think, only arise from his not having sufficiently examined those ephemeral documents, which, far beyond every other, give 'the very form and pressure' of the passing day. Let the reader take up the newspapers of this period, and read not merely the letters and addresses, but the short bits of information, and the advertisements, and he must be convinced that the general popular feeling, even had the Pretender penetrated so far, must have been an effectual barrier.

At length, at the head of Scottish troops, furnished with money from France,—at this period a hostile country—supported and surrounded by a staff of Highland, Irish, and French officers, the most conspicuous among the latter being the Marquis d'Eguilles, who had been sent expressly from Louis xv. with a letter of congratulation, Charles, on the 31st of October, at six in the evening, quitted Holyrood, to achieve the conquest of England:—

'He slept the first night at Pinkie House, as on the night after the battle of Preston, and on the following morning the two columns parted. The whole army consisted of scarcely 6,000 men, including 500 cavalry, well clothed and equipped, and furnished with provisions for four days; but many superstitious notions that prevailed among his troops made the common men as much averse as their leaders to the English campaign, and many of the Highlanders quitted their ranks during the march. According to some, the deserters amounted to no fewer than a thousand men, and one morning it cost Charles a parley of nearly an hour and a half to prevail on his troops to move forward. The weather too was so unfavourable that any troops but Highlanders would have been completely discouraged by it. After a halt of two days at Kelso, orders were sent to Wooler to prepare quarters for his troops, by which the intended effect was produced of alarming Wade, and drawing off his attention from Carlisle. This having been done, Charles suddenly marched westward and down Liddisdale, entering Cumberland at the head of his troops on the evening of the 18th of November. As the clans crossed the border, they drew their swords, and raised a loud shout of exultation; but, in hastily unsheathing his claymore, Lochiel accidentally cut his hand, which was immediately looked upon as an unlucky omen, and spread consternation throughout the whole column. On the following day, however, the two divisions effected their intended junction, and marched forward immediately upon Carlisle'—*ib.* pp. 322, 323.

Carlisle, which was only guarded by a garrison of invalid

soldiers, capitulated ; but it was here that differences first broke out between the rival parties in the young Pretender's little army. Hopes of the landing of French troops, alone prevented a portion of his followers from returning to Scotland, and it was not until the 20th that they set out for Penrith, through Shap, Kendal, and Lancaster to Preston, where they arrived on the 26th. It was here that he first received a welcome ; the people hitherto having either fled away, or gazed with stupid surprise on a prince, who, in his Highland costume, and with his target slung across his shoulder, usually marched at the head of one or other of the clans.' Surely the perverse obstinacy of the Stuarts must have been strong in their descendant, to induce him even when on English ground, to persist in wearing a dress, and adopting habits, which proved he could have no sympathy with his English subjects.

At Wigan and Manchester, he is said to have been received with acclamations ; but, as very few joined his standard, we may well doubt whether these acclamations were called forth by aught but personal fear. At Manchester, however, two hundred men were persuaded to enlist, under the command of the unfortunate Colonel Francis Townley. These received for their uniform, blue coats, with a tartan sash, and the white cockade. What had English soldiers to do with tartan ? This was given evidently in compliment to the Highland clans ; but it must have emphatically proved to the English who were willing to join the Stuart banner, that they were to be considered but as subordinates in the great enterprize.

Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales, were the strong holds of the English catholics, and consequently of the Jacobites. As the invading army, therefore, moved onward, it was welcomed with somewhat approaching to enthusiasm. They forded the Mersey near Stockport, and,—

'On arriving at the other side of the river, Charles witnessed a scene characteristic of the enthusiasm and devotion of the adherents of his house, which is thus described by Lord Mahon, on the authority of the late Lord Keith :—' On the opposite bank of the Mersey, Charles found a few of the Cheshire gentry drawn up ready to welcome him, and amongst them Mrs. Skyring, a lady in extreme old age. As a child, she had been lifted up in her mother's arms, to view the happy landing at Dover of Charles the Second. Her father, an old cavalier, had afterwards to undergo not merely neglect, but oppression, from that thankless monarch ; still, however, he and his wife continued devoted to the royal cause, and their daughter grew up as devoted as they. After the expulsion of the Stuarts, all her thoughts, her hopes, her prayers, were directed to another restoration. Ever afterwards, she had with rigid punctuality bid adieu to



half of her yearly income, to remit to the exiled family abroad, concealing only what, she said, was of no importance to them—the name of the giver. She had now parted with her jewels, her plate, and every little article of value she possessed, the price of which, in a purse, she laid at the feet of Prince Charles, while, straining her dim eye, to gaze on his features, and pressing his hand to her shrivelled lips, she exclaimed with affectionate rapture, in the words of Simeon, ‘Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!’ It is added that she did not survive the shock, when, a few days afterwards, she was told of the retreat.—*ib.*, pp. 331—333.

Happily for the honour as well as the safety of England, such instances of enthusiasm in a worthless cause, were rare.

The government, meanwhile, directed a large force of horse and foot, under Sir John Ligonier, to march direct into Lancashire, which was followed by the Duke of Cumberland, who put himself at their head: The weather had now set in most severely; the flannel waistcoats, therefore, the gift of the kind quakers, and which were sent after the army to Coventry, were most acceptable. Fearing lest these forces might fail to intercept the rebel army, the government proceeded to direct a camp to be formed on Finchley Common, consisting of the guards, part of Ligonier’s regiment of horse, Sir Robert Rich’s dragoons, and the ‘associated regiment,’ made up of barristers, under the command of Chief Justice Willes—another proof, and a rather singular one, of the general feeling against the Pretender—and a park of artillery, under the direction of the oldest and most experienced officers. In the midst of all their anxieties, the capture in the Downs of the *Soleil* privateer, with the Earl of Derwentwater, his son, and several French officers, gave them cause for rejoicing. Derwentwater’s son, on his arrival in London, was mistaken by the mob for the younger brother of the Pretender, and was with difficulty rescued from being torn in pieces.

Nearly every day now produces an extraordinary Gazette; and interesting is it to follow in them the progress of these exciting events. On the intelligence being received that the rebel army are advancing into Derbyshire, the panic became great, and when the news actually arrived that the young Pretender had entered Derby, all business was at a stand, the shops were closed, and the orders issued to the train bands and to the regular troops that guarded the metropolis, prove that the citizens viewed themselves almost as the inhabitants of a besieged city\*. On Friday the news reached London, and the day was henceforward called ‘Black Friday.’

\* The story told by Horace Walpole that a severe run on the Bank was the consequence, and that to gain time, payments were made in sixpences, we disbelieve. That the London Jacobites, some days before, attempted to create a run on the Bank, is certain, and Sir John Hinde Cotton is alluded to in the papers, as being the most active.

Great was the panic among the inhabitants of those towns which lay nearest the rebel army. All valuables and money were buried, the few clothes that could be most easily conveyed away were packed in bundles; and horses and carts stood ready, even through the night, to convey the affrighted inhabitants to some more distant asylum. In Leicester, as we have heard from those, among the recollections of whose boyhood, 'the rebellion' occupied the foremost place, the confusion was extreme. Not only were valuables, even to the silver spoons, buried, but the pewter also; and but for the wooden trenchers and horn spoons, the good people would have been reduced to eat their dinners in a most primitive manner.

As far as we can judge, the followers of the young Pretender seem to have behaved themselves better than might have been expected from half-clothed savages, who until this, their first campaign, had never seen a watch, or a looking-glass. Still, surrounded by so many luxuries, and certainly under a discipline much less strict than that of the English troops, that they made free with most articles which on their march they took a fancy to, is tolerably certain. Indeed, it is to the position occupied by the Highland clans, that we are inclined to believe the reluctant aid of the English Jacobites must after all be attributed. In London the eye of the government was indeed upon them; but in the north of England, where town after town opened its gates to the young adventurer, what was to prevent them from joining his banner, even as their grandfathers had joined that of Charles I.? What could it be? save that while in the latter case they saw a king, bred, although not born in England, surrounded by English gentlemen, and supported by English yeomanry; in the present case they saw, not only a foreign prince—for this they were prepared—but one, un-English in his manners, tastes, and very dress; and he, encompassed, not by bold English yeomen, but by foreigners who looked upon England as field for plunder, and were alike ignorant of her language and her history.

Two days Charles remained at Derby, exulting in the success that had hitherto attended him; and on the first night, 'turning his whole conversation to the triumphal entry into his father's capital, and deliberating whether he should appear *in an English or a Highland dress.*' (!) But even at that moment his adherents were determining on an immediate retreat to Scotland.

'Lord George Murray put himself forward as spokesman for the rest. He began by observing, that the English Jacobites had displayed none of the zeal that had been expected from them; that the looked-for landing of a French corps had not taken place; that

longer to act upon the hope of either of those events would be inconsistent with their own safety, as Marshal Wade was already marching through Yorkshire, to occupy their rear, while the Duke of Cumberland was before them at Lichfield; that, in case of a farther advance, they would have to encounter a third army, assembled at Finchley; that the prince had only five thousand fighting men to oppose to these three corps, whose joint force could scarcely fall short of thirty thousand; that the army at Finchley, formed of the guards and new levies, was said to consist of twenty thousand men, and that, however exaggerated such an estimate might be, yet, even supposing the prince could break through it and enter London, his own force was too small to enable him to assume a commanding position there, or to afford protection to his own friends. He next endeavoured to show how much more might even yet be hoped for from a retreat to Scotland, than from a rash and hopeless march to London. 'Already,' continued Lord George, pointing to the despatches which the prince had received that morning, 'we learn that Lord John Drummond has landed at Montrose, with the regiment of Royal Scots and some piquets of the Irish brigade, so that the whole force under Lord Strathallan, ready to join us from Perth, is not less than three or four thousand men.'

'It was in vain that Charles, after having listened impatiently to these arguments, still sought to encourage his followers with the hope that his English friends would all declare themselves as soon as he arrived in London, and that a landing of French troops would still take place on the coast of Kent or Essex. He held out the prospect of mutiny and desertion among the troops at Finchley, and reminded his friends that bold measures had often made up for the numerical inferiority of an army. He bade them remember in how marked a manner Providence had so far blessed his enterprise, and, repelling all considerations of personal security, he cried, 'Rather than go back, I would wish to be twenty feet under ground!' The other members of the council assented to the arguments of Murray, either in words, or by a not less expressive silence. Charles summoned all his powers of eloquence to make his friends view the case in this light; and, when he saw his arguments of no avail, he had recourse to entreaties, conjuring first one and then another not to desert his prince at his utmost need. He is even said to have shed tears of vexation on finding himself unable to overcome the repugnance of his followers to a farther advance; and at last, after a stormy discussion of several hours, the council broke up without coming to any determination.

'During the afternoon, Charles endeavoured vainly to induce individual chiefs to come over to his views, and in the evening a second council was held, when not one voice was raised in support of the prince's views, and even his proposal to march into Wales, that the numerous Jacobites of the principality might have an opportunity to declare themselves, was unanimously disapproved of. O'Sullivan and Secretary Murray pointed out to him that the army would never



fight well, if all the chiefs acted with unwillingness; and, finding that he could not prevail upon one of his officers to yield to his wishes, he at length reluctantly consented to a retreat, adding, that in future, as he was accountable for his actions only to God and his father, he would call no more councils of war.'—*ib.* pp. 337—341.

Deeply mortified, the young adventurer had now to retrace his steps. He quitted Derby on the 6th of December for Ashbourn, and thence proceeded through Manchester to Carlisle. The Highlanders were violent in their expressions of anger and disappointment; and even Tory writers are forced to confess, that on their retreat they not merely spoiled, but attempted to set fire to some villages. Justice demands that this should be borne in mind, when the conduct of the victorious army at Culloden is considered. At Penrith the little army had a narrow escape from the Duke of Cumberland's dragoons, who overtook the rear. In the conflict, however, the dragoons were defeated, and Charles arrived at Carlisle on the 17th. Quitting Carlisle on the following day, he crossed the Esk with some difficulty, and re-entered Scotland, closely followed by the Duke of Cumberland's forces. As soon as the troops found themselves on Scottish ground, they rent the air with their cheers—cheers that smote like a knell on the ear of the young adventurer.

The news of the retreat of the rebel army seems scarcely to have been believed in London. It is first mentioned in the Gazette, as a rumour; and the extraordinary Gazette, published the next day, hardly takes the tone of certainty. Meanwhile, whether to reassure their friends, or to intimidate the government, the Jacobites appear to have been very active. Copies of the Pretender's proclamation were dropped about in various parts of London; and rumours of a French fleet having appeared off the coast, and of a plan to set fire to London, agitated the public mind. Even when the young Pretender had actually retreated to Manchester, we find orders, 'that alarm posts should be appointed, and proper signals for the several guards'—the signal of danger being, 'seven cannon are to be fired every half minute at the Tower, and to be answered by the same signal from St. James's park.\*' At length, the certainty of the retreat was made known; and on the fast-day, appointed for the 18th of December, thanksgivings were mingled with the service.

The progress of the young Pretender in Scotland was disastrous. Unable to return to Edinburgh he proceeded to Glasgow, a city which having found the benefits of the union, was indis-

\* London Gazette, Dec. 14th. This Gazette contains eight pages closely filled with proclamations and military intelligence.

posed to hail the representative of the Stuarts. The inhabitants were, therefore, amerced £10,000, chiefly in clothing for the troops, who then marched onward to Stirling, where the siege of the castle, under the direction of French engineers, was commenced. In order to raise the siege General Hawley was dispatched from Edinburgh (which was now wholly in the hands of the government), to give battle. This was fought on the 17th of January, and Charles, who had partly recovered from his disappointment, rode through the ranks, with the Marquis d'Eguilles, addressing words of encouragement to the troops, among whom were some French regiments. In this battle the English were defeated, chiefly in consequence of the fatiguing march which they had undergone, and the hopes of the Jacobites were in England, almost revived again, when news was brought of the victory of Falkirk. This triumph was however disastrous in its results. The Highlanders who had been stimulated by hopes of plunder, after having loaded themselves with the spoil, set off in crowds to their native mountains; while an unfortunate occurrence, which forcibly exhibits their semi-barbarous character, still farther reduced the numbers of the rebel army.

‘ A clansman of Clanranald’s was examining a musket, part of his booty, at an open window, when the piece went off, and killed a son of Glengarry, who was passing through the street. The prince, conscious of the unfavourable effect likely to be produced by this unfortunate accident, neglected nothing that might serve to soften the anger of the offended clan. The body of the slain man was placed in the same vault in which reposed the body of John Graham, who died in battle under Wallace, and Charles himself attended the funeral as chief mourner. The tribe of Glengarry were not, however, appeased, but, in the spirit of feudal vengeance, demanded life for life. Clanranald reluctantly yielded up his follower, who was taken out and shot, his own father joining in the fire, that the youth’s sufferings might be the sooner terminated. Even this wild act of vengeance did not satisfy the Glengarry men, the greater part of whom abandoned the prince’s standard and returned to their mountains.—*ib.* pp. 382, 383.

Soon afterwards, the siege of Stirling Castle was raised, and greatly against the wishes of Charles, the remains of his army retreated northward. Irritated at the defeat of Hawley, the Duke of Cumberland, offered to take chief command of the army in Scotland, and on his appointment he set out at one in the morning, and never stopped day or night until he arrived at Edinburgh.

Respecting this young prince, great difference of opinion has, as our readers are aware, prevailed. We have too far exceeded

our limits, now, to enter on the question. The same want of space compels us to pass over the progress of the young Pretender, until his hopes were finally crushed on the 16th of April, at the battle of Culloden. His subsequent escapes, and vicissitudes, until he at length embarked for France, are well known. As a romantic portion of history, they possess much interest, but for the purposes for which history ought to be written, the period to which we have directed the attention of our readers, is the most important.

In tracing the course of English history, it is very interesting to observe, how, from time to time, circumstances have arisen, which have compelled our countrymen to take their stand on the great principles of liberty. Sometimes a political revolution has been the result; sometimes the effects can only be traced in the firmer stand, and bolder tone that has been taken; and the actual, tangible, issue has, perhaps, not appeared until the next generation, or even the next century. Such, unquestionably, was the case with the rebellion of 1745. Men had almost settled on their lees, and finding rest pleasant, began to lose sight of those great principles for which their forefathers had battled and died. The approach of a descendant of the Stuarts, compelled them to call to mind what Stuart principles were, and although in their denunciation of those principles, they were far from taking the lofty ground which might justly have been taken, still a 'movement' which set quiet citizens talking of the patriotism of Hampden, and the public spirit of Cromwell, and which made even deans and prebendaries, 'abjure and abhor;' in their addresses to the throne at least—arbitrary power, was not without its use. The arousing of an indolent age by the stirring watchword 'civil and religious liberty,' produced an important effect upon the youth of that period, and gave an impulse to many noble spirits. The speeches of Chatham, the letters of Junius, and many a less known, but influential work, were the result—even those importunate yearnings for political reform,—which though deriving fresh impulse from the French Revolution, had originated long before,—may all be traced to 'the forty-five.'

Alas! for our non-conforming forefathers! they knew not their day! Influential as they were found to be in town and country—courted as they were by king's ministers, and church dignitaries, what prevented them from demanding, and from obtaining too,—perfect religious freedom? What, but that strange fatuity, which, with the failures at the Restoration, at the Revolution, and at the accession of the house of Brunswick, before their eyes,—made them fall into the self-same snare, and with suicidal liberality, postpone insisting on their claims until



that 'more convenient season,' which 'Church and State' determined should never arrive. What a picture of almost childish trustfulness does the history of our people present; and yet, untaught by the four times repeated lesson, some, even now, in this age of fierce and eager conflict—of violent and persisting demands, would have us sit quiet, and again await the 'more convenient season.' But let *us* prove that we have not read our history in vain. Let us be wiser!

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Art. VI. *Journey to Ararat.* By Dr. Friedrich Parrot, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Dorpat, &c. With Maps and Woodcuts. Translated by W. D. Cooley. 8vo. London: Longman.

THIS volume forms the first of a series entitled, 'The World Surveyed in the 19th Century,' to be published under the able editorship of Mr. Cooley. The work is intended to comprise a selection from the contributions to physical geography made by continental travellers in the present century. Travelling has become an intellectual pursuit and pleasure of the highest order to a class of scientific men, and it is to the honour of many European governments that they have assisted in carrying out the design to which science in its most useful and practical forms has given birth. The chief of them have despatched expeditions to explore various regions which were but partially known, and in the reports rendered are to be found some of the most interesting and valuable contributions to natural history which the present century has witnessed. The facts and results of these expeditions are however but little known to the English public. Existing only in a foreign tongue, frequently voluminous, and sometimes cumbrous in style, they have been a sealed book to our countrymen, to their serious detriment and to the injury of public interests. 'This mine,' says the editor of the present work, 'it is our intention to lay open—to work its richest ore; and rejecting the dross, to lay the pure metal among the treasures of our national literature.' In this design we unfeignedly rejoice. Such a book has long been needed; and the high qualifications of Mr. Cooley for the post assigned him, and the admirable selection made in the case of the present volume, and of that by which it is to be followed, are an earnest of its being executed in a manner worthy of itself, and fully entitled to the cordial patronage of our countrymen.

The volume before us is most judiciously chosen for the commencement of the series. Mount Ararat is associated with the earlier and most interesting events in the history of our race,

and stands in the midst of a region of which little is known. Professor Parrot was eminently fitted to explore it, and to bring back to civilized Europe an intelligible report of its mysteries. To all the scientific attainments which his mission required, he added a power of endurance, a persevering earnestness, and a passionate attachment to his pursuit, of which the instances are rare. His volume is in consequence one of the most interesting which we have read for years. The information supplied is solid and useful; the views broached are distinguished by sobriety and sound judgment; whilst the perils incurred and the indomitable energy with which they were encountered give a character of romantic interest to many parts of his narrative.

By the peace of Turkmanshai, concluded in 1828, between Russia and Persia, Mount Ararat became the extreme boundary of the Russian empire on the side of Turkey and Persia. The war which subsequently broke out between Russia and the Porte extended the dominion of the former beyond the sacred mountain, and thus afforded an opportunity for the long cherished design of M. Parrot to visit and explore the unknown region. The design was approved by the Imperial government, which appointed a *feldyäger*, or military guide, to accompany the expedition, and advanced 1600 silver rubles for the purchase of scientific instruments, and to defray the expenses of M. Fedorov, a student of philosophy belonging to the Imperial Academy, who was appointed to attend it. The whole expenses of the mission were subsequently discharged by the emperor, and the order of St. Anne was conferred on M. Parrot. The distance to be travelled over was 2330 miles, and the accommodations furnished for the journey were the very opposite in point of speed and comfort to those enjoyed by English or even continental tourists. No difficulties, however, could deter our adventurous traveller. 'So fully determined was I,' he says, 'that nothing should divert me from my purpose, that the mere gratification of beholding the sacred mountain, with the eye of a sincere Christian and inquiring traveller, was enough to make me bid defiance to all the perils of a journey of 2330 miles.'

The enthusiasm of the traveller was well maintained throughout the journey, and materially contributed to its successful issue. It commenced on the 11th of April, according to our reckoning, and did not terminate till the close of the year 1829. In the early part of it, various Kalmuk tribes were fallen in with, whose habits are represented as precisely similar to those which marked the earlier inhabitants of the earth.

'The Kalmuk mode of life is systematically nomadic; and to this they cling with all the tenacity of inveterate habit. What in another age, and under different circumstances, would have been but com-

mon necessity, has, at present, when neither opportunities nor inducements can be wanting to tempt them to adopt a settled mode of life, become a keenly felt want, and a source of gratification. The peculiarities of their religious notions, language, and manners, are too distinctive to justify any expectation that they could be so far influenced by the example of neighbouring nations as to establish themselves in fixed habitations. So great is their attachment to a roving life, that I was assured by one of their priests, that it would be looked upon as a sort of violation of religious principle if they were even to attempt to provide a supply of hay in summer to secure their horses and oxen from the danger of perishing of hunger in the winter, because it would seem an approximation to habits to which their national practices are too obstinately opposed.—p. 12.

They make no use whatever of vegetables, not even of the herbs of the steppe, or of fruits, but subsist entirely on animal food. Their existence is monotonous in the last degree, the migration from their winter to their summer pasture being the only change of which they have experience. 'This want,' remarks our author, 'of all social excitements for the mind, this uniformity in his intellectual and physical life, renders it in a great degree comprehensible how a people, endowed with so many estimable qualities of mind and body, should become the votaries of the idle and fantastic religious dogmas which prevail, at least among the hordes occupying this quarter of the steppe.'

On the 17th of June M. Parrot entered Tiflis, the capital of the trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia, which he says would be one of 'the most delightful spots on the earth,' were it not that the mountains around it are totally devoid of wood, and that there is an entire absence of rivers and fountains. His remarks on the character and habits of the Georgians must be received with some allowance from the Russian medium through which they were observed: but of their substantial accuracy we see no reason to doubt.

'The personal beauty of the Georgians would naturally attract the attention of Europeans, and secure a lively interest in their favour, if their intellectual condition were only in keeping with their outward bearing. The Georgian would win the esteem of all the world did he but unite, with the symmetry of his person and the energy of his character, a taste for useful occupation, and the laudable improvement of the faculties of his mind; while the women of Georgia would be admitted on all hands to have a just claim to the possession of the highest order of female loveliness, did they not prematurely impair the advantages which nature has so lavishly bestowed upon them by the immoderate use of cosmetics, of apparel prejudicial to their health, and by their reckless licentiousness, instead of directing their thoughts to the regulation of their households, to economy,



cleanliness, the education of their children, and the other duties proper to their sex.

'It must be confessed that in this, as in all other cases, some praiseworthy exceptions will be found ; but I only speak here of the general impressions which are made by Georgian society upon a stranger, and am therefore obliged to aver, that there is a total want of industry, activity, and domestic feeling everywhere apparent; and though cleanliness, and a love of order have, in a few instances, gained a footing among the higher class, it is yet only as objects of imitation and luxury, not of necessity and habit.'—pp. 32, 33.

As in other parts of the East, ancient habits struggle against modern improvements. 'The Georgian still adheres to his own primitive agricultural implements, and defective system of cultivation in the field, the vineyard, and the garden. He is not even so far advanced in the construction of his mills, as to supply himself with a good quantity of flour; this has to be produced from the Russians. His antiquated wheel carriages are still as clumsy and rude as they were in the golden age. He still, as of old, shaves off all the hair from his head, which he covers when he goes into the broiling sun, with a heavy cap of sheepskin, well calculated, when aided by excesses in the use of wine, to produce a constant determination of blood to the brain. The native of Tiflis still makes it a daily practice to indulge, as of old, in the use of his disgusting, filthy, sulphureous warm bath, where he exposes his body for hours to the heating and enervating influence of the vapour.'

The presence, however, of numerous strangers from Russia, Germany and France, is not without its influence on the habits of the Georgians, which is seen in the stiff collar and oriental robes of some of the merchants, the French capote of the ladies, and the high sloped tiling of many of the houses. The people and their city are evidently undergoing a change which betokens the downfall, at no very distant period, of the whole system of Georgian customs.

M. Parrot's progress was now arrested by the breaking out of the plague in the course of his intended route. The authorities forbid his advance, and he was therefore compelled most reluctantly to remain at Tiflis, where he employed himself in ascertaining its geographical position, and in observations on the atmosphere. Referring to the latter subject, he says—

'The heat and aridity of the atmosphere begin to be oppressive as early as the month of May, and they continue to increase through June, July, and August, till they become intolerable; so that, for three hours before, and six after mid-day, during these last two months, no one will willingly leave the house in which, by dint of excluding the light of the sun, and sprinkling the apartments with

water, some degree of coolness may be maintained. If Tiflis had the advantage of trees, the plan adopted in Bengal for cooling the dwellings might be introduced there. This plan consists in filling the open windows with green boughs, the evaporation from which will, as we are assured, reduce the temperature some 10 or 14 degrees. The Persian fans are, however, a very effective substitute for this: they are formed of some very light material, about a foot square, and so contrived as to be readily turned with the hand like a vane; this produces such a motion in the air that, when it is kept up for an hour or thereabouts, the increased evaporation from the skin will produce a very sensible, and in irritable subjects even a painful impression of cold.

‘There is one circumstance which, in my opinion, also contributes not a little to maintain a degree of coolness in the apartments of an eastern house; that is, the peculiar roof, if we may be allowed to give this name to the uppermost floor or terrace of their houses. This is formed of a layer of earth and stiff clay, about two feet thick, quite even, but inclined by about two inches to one side; so that, during a heavy shower of rain, the water may not run off at all sides, but be directed through a couple of openings in the parapet, which rises about a foot above the level of the roof. This bed of earth acts hygrometrically upon the atmosphere, imbibing the damps by night, which are again evaporated in the heat of the day, and, by a known law of physics, has a perceptible effect in cooling the air; whereas, under the usual European roof, which has been most unadvisedly introduced by foreigners into Tiflis, an actual reverberation of the heat takes place. These flat terraces are, moreover, usually overgrown with weeds; it is said to be particularly the *Lepidium vesicarium* which is there met with. This becomes scorched in summer, and then is set on fire, to get rid of the dry stalks, so that the fire, which soon seizes on this inflammable vegetable matter, will often present the startling and beautiful spectacle of a wide body of flame sweeping over the city in the night.

‘This terrace is also the place to which the Georgians of the ancient stock resort, when the sun has set, and the heat of the day has declined, to enjoy themselves with their family and friends in the cool air, taking a look into the streets of the town, admiring the magnificent snowy peaks of Caucasus, or indulging themselves with tea or wine, and often passing the entire night on it in song and music. This is the place where many a one, exhausted by the heat of the day, and anxious to escape from the scarcely less intolerable heat of the night in the apartments below, tries to court the respite of a little refreshing repose under a tent: the place, too, where, upon all occasions of solemn processions through the narrow streets, the Georgian fair, enveloped from head to foot in their thick and snowy veils, find a convenient stand, from which they may see and be seen.’—pp. 46—48.

Excursions were also made during this period into the pro-

vinces immediately around Tiflis, and much interesting information was collected. Of one of these, Kakheti, we are informed that its chief productions are wine, corn, silk, and honey; and a singular mode of preserving the first is named, which we transcribe for the benefit of such of our readers as are connoisseurs in these matters.

‘There is an active export of wine: for the Kakheti wine is duly, unfortunately sometimes unduly, prized throughout all Georgia as the very best; though it cannot admit of any doubt that the art of making wine is still but very imperfectly understood in this province, the esteemed produce of which is totally destitute of the true aromatic flavour of wine, and will not keep more than five or six years. Stories of ten-year-old wine are looked upon as suspicious by the initiated. However this may be, there is certainly enough of it drunk beyond Caucasus to afford a knowledge of its properties. Their mode of keeping it, not only here but in every other district of Georgia, seemed to me both instructive and interesting. They have no casks, but keep it in earthen jars and leathern bottles. These latter are made of the skins of goats, oxen, and buffaloes, turned inside out, clipped with the scissors, washed, and rubbed over with warm mineral tar, or, as it is also called, naphtha. The openings are closed with a sort of wooden bung, except at the feet, where they are only tied up with a cord. The wine is drawn at one foot, merely by opening or closing the noose. It is a very strange and whimsical sight, for the new-comer, to see oxen and buffaloes full of wine lying in the wine-booth, or about the streets, with their legs stretched out. These skins, however, are very convenient for home use, or for carriage; for they may be found of all sizes, some very small—the skins of young kids—holding only a few bottles; at the same time, these latter come very rarely into requisition.’—pp. 58, 59.

At length the travellers recommenced their journey towards Ararat, on the 1st of September, the distance from Tiflis being about 186 miles. Regular post stations kept by Kossaks are established along the road, but the only accommodation which could be procured were riding and pack-horses. On the return of the party, teleggas or posting cars were occasionally met with, for which, however, horses had to be hired of the peasants. The villages which lay in their route, whether Armenian or Mohammedan, had little that was attractive in their external appearance. The houses, constructed of clay, have flat roofs, with here and there a small square opening for a window looking into a court-yard surrounded with a clay wall. Savage dogs render the approach to these habitations somewhat hazardous, and the disposition of the Tartar population is by no means friendly to Christian visitors.

On the evening of the 8th of September, M. Parrot arrived at the Monastery of Echmiadzin, situated at the foot of Mount



Ararat, and exultingly expatiated on the prospect which its noble outline and vast elevation furnished. From the Armenian patriarch and clergy little sympathy was experienced, in the object of his mission. Their replies to his inquiries were apathetic and chilling, arising partly from the utter want of enlightened curiosity, and partly from the superstition of their country, which led them to regard with hostility any attempt to penetrate into the mysteries of the sacred mountain. 'The former political connexions of the monastery, its alternate dependence, now upon one and now upon some other potentate, to whom for the sake of the very existence of the establishment it was necessary to observe a blind submission and elaborate deference, have, in the lapse of centuries, had the effect of destroying all candour and openness in the monks, and introducing mistrust, disingenuousness, and a selfish devotion to personal interests in its stead; so that it is impossible for a stranger to overpass those bounds of oriental formality and cold politeness which are here so strictly drawn and observed.' The usual result of seclusion was visible in the intellectual stagnation which pervaded their society. They wondered at the enthusiasm of their visitor, and were obviously uninterested in any matter beyond their own immediate affairs.

'In the evening, several of the archimandrites spent some hours with us, over a cup of tea, with which our kind host, Father Joseph, regaled us. Still I saw that it was impossible to give that turn to the conversation which it might be expected to have taken when persons from distant countries, and of so many various conditions and sentiments, come together. With the exception of the Deacon Abovian, there were only the Archimandrite Manuel, and the librarian, the Archimandrite Ohannes, who could speak Russian; but all other European languages were unknown in the monastery. This, however, is not to be wondered at, if we reflect upon the retired and sequestered life passed by these ecclesiastics, many of whom have never been beyond the walls of Echmiadzin, during a monastic life of half a century. Still, this makes it rather the more extraordinary, that they should have totally neglected the study of the ancient tongues; so that I was completely disappointed in the supposition I had entertained, that, in my ignorance of the oriental languages, I might have recourse to my Latin.

'This total indifference to the study of the Greek and Roman classics, several of whose works are preserved in their library in the monastery, is no less to be deplored than wondered at: as such pursuits would seem more calculated than any others to relieve lassitude and dissipate those worldly anxieties so likely to engender the vices which too often beset men living under the restrictions and confinement of a cloister. Their only literary occupation was the study of the history of their country; if it really can be deemed

a literary employment for an Armenian monk to read the histories of his nation in the Armenian tongue, without the least idea of intelligent criticism, and to receive with blind submission all that their authors assert, either upon their own authority or that of worthless traditions, with all the errors and variations of careless transcribers; or, at least, to represent them to the people as positive and undoubted truths, whenever it suits their interest or hierarchical policy to do so.'—pp. 104, 105.

The whole attention of the party was now directed towards the mountain, which consists of the Great and the Little Ararat, the former having an elevation of 17,210 and the latter of 13,000 feet perpendicular above the level of the sea. The ascent was soon planned, and the following brief account of their mode of passing the night will give some faint idea of the hardships encountered by the travellers.

'From this chapel, we ascended the grassy eminence which forms the right side of the chasm, and had to suffer much from the heat, inasmuch, that our Kossak, who would much rather have galloped for three days together through the steppe, seated on horseback, than climb over the rocks for two hours, declared that he was ready to sink with fatigue, and it was necessary to send him back. About six o'clock in the evening, as we too were completely tired, and had approached close to the region of snow, we sought out a place for our night's lodging among the fragments of rock. We had attained a height of 12,360 feet; our bed was the hard rock, and the cold icy head of the mountain our only stove. In the sheltered places around still lay some fresh snow; the temperature of the air was at the freezing point. M. Schiemann and myself had prepared ourselves tolerably well for this contingency, and our joy at the enterprise also helped to warm us, but our athletic yäger Sahák (Isaac), from Arguri, was quite dispirited with the cold, for he had nothing but his summer clothing; his neck and legs from the knee to the sandal were quite naked, and the only covering for his head was an old cloth, tied round it. I had neglected, at first starting, to give attention to his wardrobe; it was, therefore, my duty to help him as far as I could; and as we had ourselves no spare clothing, I wrapped his nakedness in some sheets of grey paper which I had brought with me for the purpose of drying plants; this answered him very well.'—pp. 145, 146,

On the first dawn of morning their journey was continued, and the state of the ice, with which the upper part of the mountain is perpetually covered, requiring that steps should be cut in order to their ascent, the day wore away before the summit could be gained. They were therefore compelled, at three o'clock in the afternoon, having then attained the elevation of 15,400 feet above the sea, to consider where they were to pass the ensuing night. 'I do not believe,' says M. Parrot, 'that

there existed any insuperable obstacle to our further advance upwards; but the few hours of daylight which still remained to us for climbing to the summit, would have been more than expended in accomplishing this object; and then on the top, we should not have found a rock to shelter us during the night, to say nothing of our scanty supply of food, which had not been calculated for so protracted an excursion.'

The result of their deliberation was a return to the plain, but here a fresh danger presented itself, from which they narrowly escaped with their lives. The account must be given in our author's own words.

'Satisfied with the result, and with having ascertained that the mountain was by no means wholly inaccessible on this side, and having made our barometrical observations, we turned about and immediately fell into a danger which we never dreamt of in ascending. For, while the footing is generally less sure in descending a mountain than in ascending it, at the same time it is extremely difficult to restrain one's self and to tread with the requisite caution, when looking from above upon such a uniform surface of ice and snow, as spread from beneath our feet to the distance of two-thirds of a mile without interruption, and on which, if we happened to slip and fall, there was nothing to prevent our rapidly shooting downwards, except the angular fragments of rock which bounded the region of ice. The danger here lies more in want of habit than in real difficulty. The active spirit of my young friend, now engaged in his first mountain journey, and whose strength and courage were well able to cope with harder trials, was yet unable to withstand this: treading incautiously, he fell; but, as he was about twenty paces behind me, I had time to strike my staff before me in the ice as deep as it would go, to plant my foot firmly on my excellent many-pointed ice-shoe, and while my right hand grasped the staff, to catch M. Schiemann with my left, as he was sliding by. My position was good, and resisted the impetus of his fall; but the tie of the ice-shoe, although so strong that it appeared to be of a piece with the sole, gave way with the strain; the straps were cut through as if with a knife, and unable to support the double weight on the bare sole, I also fell. M. Schiemann, rolling against two stones, came to a stoppage, with little injury, sooner than myself; the distance over which I was hurried, almost unconsciously, was little short of a quarter of a mile, and ended in the debris of lava, not far from the border of the glacier.'—pp. 148, 149.

An attack of fever, consequent on the exertions made, compelled M. Parrot for a time to desist from the renewal of his attempt; but having speedily recovered, he recommenced his preparations with unabated zeal. The party, consisting of twelve persons, set out on the morning of the 18th of September, and essayed the north-west side of the mountain, where the way



though longer was much less precipitous. They passed the night at an elevation of 13,070 feet, not far from the borders of perpetual snow, and resumed their ascent early in the morning. Of the difficulties encountered some idea may be formed from the following extract, which describes their course during the early part of the second day. It must have required no ordinary share of determination and bodily strength to persist in the face of such obstructions.

‘For an instant we halted at the foot of the pyramid of snow which before our eyes was projected with wondrous grandeur on the clear blue sky: we chose out such matters as could be dispensed with, and left them behind a rock; then serious and in silence, and not without a devout shuddering, we set foot upon that region which certainly since Noah’s time no human being had ever trodden. At first the progress was easy, because the acclivity was not very steep, and besides it was covered with a layer of fresh snow on which it was easy to walk; the few cracks in the ice, also, which occurred, were of no great breadth, and could be easily stepped over. But this joy did not last long; for, after we had advanced about 200 paces, the steepness increased to such a degree, that we were no longer able to tread securely on the snow, but, in order to save ourselves from sliding down on the ice beneath it, we were obliged to have recourse to that measure, for the employment of which I had taken care to equip myself and my companions, namely, the cutting of steps. Although that which is called ice in such mountains, is in reality snow converted into a glacier, that is to say, permeated with water and again frozen, in which state it is far from possessing the solidity of true ice, yet like this it does not yield to the pressure of the foot, and requires, where the slope is very rapid, the cutting of steps. For this purpose some of us had brought little axes, some bill-hooks, while others, again, made use of the ice-staff. The general rule in the ascent was, that the leader should only cut the ice just enough to allow himself to mount, and that each as he followed should enlarge the step; and thus, while the labour of the foremost was lightened, a good path was prepared for the descent, wherein much firmer footing is required than in ascending.

‘Through this proceeding, dictated off-hand by necessity and frequent experience, and which, moreover, could not be dispensed with for a single step, as well as through manifold hindrances of a new sort, which obstructed the carrying up of the cross, our progress suffered so much delay, that though in the stony region which was by no means easily traversed, we had been able to gain about 1000 feet of elevation in the hour, we could now hardly ascend 600 feet in the same time. It was necessary for us to turn a bold projection of the slope above us, and having come to it, we found on it, and straight across the direction in which we were proceeding, a deep crack in the ice, about five feet wide, and of such length that we could not distinctly see whether it was possible to go round it. To

our consolation, however, the drifted snow had in one place filled up the crevice tolerably well, so that with mutual assistance we got safely over, a feat rendered somewhat difficult by the circumstance that the edge of the ice which we wanted to reach was a good deal higher than that on which we were standing'—pp 160—162.

For a second time the travellers were doomed to disappointment. At an elevation of 16,028 feet they were compelled to abandon the enterprise, as the day was far advanced, and clouds were gathering in the sky. The attempt, however, was repeated, and on the 9th of October, 1829, 'we stood,' says our narrator, 'on the top of Ararat!'

We cannot indulge in further quotation, but must be content with simply adverting to the fact that M. Parrot's statement of his having reached the summit of Ararat has been questioned, though, as we think, without sufficient ground. He has furnished the evidence pro and con, and those of our readers who are interested in the question may determine the probabilities of the case for themselves. We strongly recommend his volume to the early perusal of all.

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Art. VII.—*The Necessary Existence of God.* By William Gillespie, Edinburgh: Philalethean Publication Office.

It will be interesting to our readers, first, to receive some account of the circumstances which have led to the appearance of the present remarkable work. Some few years ago, there existed, perhaps exists still, a society at Glasgow, called 'The Areopagus or Zetetic Society.' Mr. Gillespie, having seen atheistical publications exposed for sale in Edinburgh, had been induced to challenge any atheist who might be found in that city, to refute a demonstration he would produce of the Being of God. His challenge was accepted, and a copy of his demonstration forwarded accordingly; but, after waiting a considerable time, he was informed that the person who had undertaken the task, could not answer it. To make amends, however, for the disappointment, he was informed that there was a society of atheists in Glasgow more numerous, clever, and learned, who would, no doubt, accept the challenge. Accordingly our author presently forwarded a letter to the whole society, calling upon them to undertake the task which had been declined by the atheists of Edinburgh. The only conditions laid down on the one side, and accepted on the other, were (1) that the answer should be on paper: (2) that it should point out some (alleged)

specific fallacy in the alleged demonstration. The terms being agreed to, Mr. Gillespie's demonstration was forwarded. The reply Mr. Gillespie received contained the following paragraph: 'Relative to your challenge, it is hereby accepted upon your own terms. A reply to your 'argument' will be commenced forthwith; but as the writer has not much time to spare, it cannot be expected to proceed very rapidly. But as the society intend publishing it at their own charges, and are anxious that the thing should be proceeded with, you may rely on no time being lost. A copy will be forwarded to you as soon as it comes out of the press.'

The promised 'refutation' accordingly appeared, with the signature of *Antitheos*, about eight months after. Mr. Gillespie feeling that no impression had thereby been produced upon the 'Demonstration,' speedily prepared an 'Examination of Antitheos's Refutation.' In a postscript, to the *third edition* of which, he says,

'Three years have now elapsed since this *Examination* was first given to the public: and as *Antitheos* has not brought out any reply, it may be presumed, 'tis intended that no reply shall appear.

'Indeed, in a private communication to the author of the *Examination*, '*Antitheos*,' in so many words, lets it be understood, that he does not propose to publish any reply. . . .

'In short, the silence of *Antitheos* before the public is expressive; it informs us, as well as any words could inform us, of his inability to controvert the reasonings of the 'Examination.' No question but that so keen a controvertist would have replied, had a passable reply been reckoned at all practicable.

'This controversy may, therefore, be viewed as closed. The champion of the *Zetetics* having retired disgraced from the lists, may be proclaimed recreant. The atheists of *Scotland* have cried, through the medium of their representative's silence.—'Hold, enough!'

Since Mr. Gillespie wrote the foregoing statement, two more years have elapsed, and, so far as we have heard, neither the Atheistic gentleman who wrote the 'Refutation,' nor any of his fellow '*Zetetics*,' has courted further notoriety. Discretion has curbed their zeal, and Mr. Gillespie is fairly entitled to a Pæan.

'Palnam qui meruit, ferat.'

The work, now appearing in the third edition, comprises the following articles, all bearing on the great subject:—'An Inquiry into the defects of mere *à posteriori* Arguments;' 'Reviews of the Demonstrations,' by Mr. Locke, Dr. S. Clarke, the Rev. Moses Lowman and Bishop Hamilton, of the Existence and Attributes of a Deity;' 'The (Author's own) Argument *à priori* for the being and attributes of a great First Cause;' 'An Examination of Antitheos's Refutation of the above Argu-



ment';—which occupies nearly three-fourths of the entire volume.

An Appendix containing various miscellaneous matters, and among the rest, the entire contents of the 'Refutation', by Antitheos, which professed to point out the alleged fallacies of Mr. Gillespie.

The reader of Mr. Gillespie's work is thus put in possession of a complete account of the whole affair, and will be thereby enabled to judge how far the objections of the Atheist tended to impair the argument, as well as how far Mr. Gillespie has succeeded in their demolition.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers as succinct and fair an account as we can of Mr. Gillespie's reasoning. If, in so doing, we should find it necessary to pass any strictures upon the execution of the work, we trust we shall not be misunderstood, as if we disapproved of the attempt, or could not appreciate the eminent ability and acuteness, which the author has, in many parts, displayed.

His inquiry, into the defects of all *à posteriori* arguments for the infinity, eternity, and unity of God, displays great logical acuteness. The principal defect he points out is, that from the contemplation of a finite effect, you cannot infer an infinite cause; and further, that, from unity of design, you may infer unity of counsel, but cannot logically prove unity of substance in that cause. So far, however, as the argument goes, he assents to it without hesitation. Yet thinks that, though the argument clearly proves design in the Author of nature, it cannot prove that the designer was the Creator of the *matter* in which the design appears; for that argument does no more than infer a designing cause from certain appearances; in the same way as we should infer, from finding some well-contrived machine in a desert, that a human being had left it there.' The point which he thinks is wanting in the *à posteriori* argument is 'proof of design in gross untractable matter itself.' Here we think the author has failed to do justice to the argument he was criticising, by overlooking the fact, that 'gross untractable matter,' as he calls it, does as clearly evince design as any of the individual objects or phenomena which he had, without hesitation, pronounced to be proofs of design. Do the chemical properties of matter evince no design? Do its mechanical properties evince none? The adaptation of the chemical properties of earth, light, air, and water to the organization of plants and animals, is as satisfactory proof of design, as the adaptation of the organism to the elements. The intelligence which in thought designed the plants and animals, before they were brought into existence, must have possessed a perfect knowledge of the chemical and

mechanical properties of the 'gross untractable matter;'—since chemical analysis is, at the present moment, showing such knowledge to have been previously essential to the design of constructing those plants and animals, which were to make use of them. Thus constituting those systems of organization perfect laboratories for analyzing matter and appropriating it to their own uses. Yea, even designing to construct the laboratories themselves out of the very materials on which they were afterwards to work, and by the assimilation of which they were to be conserved. Moreover the system of resolution and reproduction, complicates the proof of design to a far higher degree. The inorganic is transmuted into the organic—the organic is again resolved into the inorganic—supplying the very elements necessary to the production and continuance of the organized systems. Moreover those qualities seem to have been imparted to matter at first, which fitted it to subserve the organic creation, and of which that creation could make use—without deficiency and without redundancy. Design appears as clearly in first preparing the appropriate pabulum that the subsequent creation would require, as in the ordering of that creation itself. If we choose to pause at the production of the 'gross untractable matter,' and say it shows no design, because we do not yet perceive the end it is to answer, nor its perfect adaptation to it, we act irrationally. We judge of the architect's wisdom from his rough materials, before he has laid them together or erected the superstructure. But if we view matter as a preliminary step to the organic creation, then there is evidence enough of design from first to last—and of design most elaborate and complicated.

But this is not the only fault we find in Mr. Gillespie's criticism upon the *à posteriori* argument. We think it a very serious defect not to have noticed—that, though it is perfectly true, from a finite object you cannot fairly infer an infinite cause, and an infinite designer, yet it ought to be admitted that under these terms finite effect, and finite object, we are liable to contemplate a very inadequate and even insignificant idea: whereas those terms do properly represent *the whole creation*, which assuredly contains such a multiplicity of separate objects, such an inexhaustible mine of objects—of objects in succession interminably—of objects rising from the elements, and coming forth perpetually—of new objects revealing themselves to our senses just in proportion to the growth of our powers of discovery, that it may be said fairly, the objects of science, and consequently the proofs of design, are practically interminable: and though confessedly still in thought, finite, do so approximate to infinity, that for all practical and popular purposes, they may be treated as inexhaustible proofs of design—which is near akin



to proof of an infinite designer. Perhaps they lead our minds on as near toward the conception of such a cause as we can ever reach. If we have not yet arrived at the limit of creation, neither have we yet felt the necessity of inferring that its cause must be finite. It may be perfectly true that we have not yet reached that comprehensive knowledge which warrants us directly and logically to infer an infinite cause:—and how can we, without possessing infinite knowledge?—yet if all our knowledge of the objects tends to the same inference of design, and unity of design—and if every new advance of knowledge does but aggrandize such proof—every ascent of the wing of science does but open to us a wider and still a wider prospect—and convince us that we are but yet upon the frontier of regions where similar objects will still multiply upon us, without limit and without end—then to us practically, though certainly not metaphysically, this is adequate proof of an infinite designer. The observer of phenomena can no more exhaust the mine of those objects which Mr. Gillespie admits prove design, than the metaphysician, in his department, can exhaust the idea of expansion and duration.

We cannot but fear that Mr. Gillespie's attachment to his own *à priori* argument has led him to depreciate unduly, those proofs of design which it is the province of the *à posteriori* reasoners to develop; at least, in our opinion he has not done them full justice.—His next section contains a review of the professedly *à priori* arguments by the several authors before named. The principal of these are Mr. Locke's and Dr. Sam. Clarke's.

It is chiefly against Mr. Locke, that our author directs the whole force of his criticism, though he alleges that both Clarke's and the others, are chargeable with several serious imperfections. Mr. Locke's reasoning begins at the point,—some being (as myself) now exists—nothing cannot produce a being—what was not from eternity, had a beginning—what had a beginning must be produced by something else—whatever begins to be, must have a cause. Thus far, he says, even atheists will admit; and indeed, no reasoning can be less liable to objection than this: *if nothing cannot produce the being which is, from eternity there has been something; since what was not from eternity had a beginning, etc.* Locke continues:—

'This *Eternal Source*, then, of all being, must also be the source and original of all power, and so THIS ETERNAL BEING must also be the most powerful.' It is to this Mr. Gillespie objects. He says, 'here lies the sophism, and a mighty sophism it is.' 'He *inferred* that from eternity there has been SOMETHING. The nature, however, of the something, was not determined. Something indeed there was proved to have always been, but it was only a vague something. But in this



fourth step, the vague something is secretly held to be, not a succession, from eternity, of things or beings, but an '*eternal source*' of all other beings, or, in other words, an eternal being, the cause of all other existences. Before, however, the author could have legitimately arrived at such an eternal source, or being, it behoved him to have demolished the hypothesis of the infinite succession of things—the grand hypothesis of atheism, the hypothesis, we may say, into which all atheism must run at last.'

We must say that we think Locke has been misrepresented, because he does not properly set out with *something*, but with the existence of an intelligent *being*, and of course, if his intermediate reasoning was sound, as Mr. Gillespie admits, he was entitled to infer that the intelligence which was a property of the thing assumed to exist, came from that source from which came the thing, or being, called man. Besides, he goes at length into the proof that non-intelligence can no more be the cause of intelligence, than nothing can be equal to two right angles, or the cause of something. After all the *mighty sophism* Mr. Gillespie charges upon Locke, is, we think, rather in appearance than reality, or if it exist at all, it exists in the omission to destroy the atheistic idea of an eternal succession of finite beings and things, that is to say, the fault is not so much in the reasoning Locke constructed, as in his not meeting a certain supposition which might seem to admit his reasoning, but supersede his conclusion, by drawing from his arguments another conclusion, and that quite adverse. So far, it might be admitted, that Locke failed to fortify his conclusion by showing that the atheistic supposition could not rest upon his premises, nor attach to his reasoning, or to any other. But after all, it appears that Locke's '*mighty sophism*' consisted not in any thing he did, but in what he omitted to do, and that was to demolish the theory of *eternal succession*. Accordingly Mr. Gillespie does this at one part of his own argument, thus:—

'Should it now be asserted that any succession, or successions of substances, *finite in extension*, for a succession of substances of infinity of extension were, we know not what: should it be asserted that any successions, or any one succession of substances—say of minerals or vegetables, or animals, or all together, or of worlds, or of systems of worlds, is of infinity of duration; the falsity of the assertion is immediately and abundantly apparent. For, seeing that the whole material universe, itself, is finite in duration, every succession of substances which are in the material universe (and know you of substances finite in extension, which are out of it?) must therefore be finite in duration, too.'—p. 23 of the *Argument à Priori*.

This is the thing done by Mr. Gillespie which Locke omitted

to do, and for which omission alone he charges him with a *mighty sophism*. But what, upon Mr. Gillespie's own shewing, is this said doctrine of succession but a *false assertion which is immediately and abundantly apparent*—for Mr. Gillespie's conclusion is, that *every succession of substances in the material universe must be finite in duration*. For the proof or rather demonstration of this he refers to a previous proposition in which he had shown that the material universe was finite in duration. The upshot of the whole is that Mr. Locke did not demolish an absurdity—an unintelligible and impossible supposition. It would have been more candid to suppose that Locke either overlooked the absurdity Mr. Gillespie has demolished—or that he imagined, the absurdity of it was, as Mr. Gillespie says, *so immediately and abundantly apparent*, that he might leave it altogether unnoticed—to fall by its own want of coherence.

But it is now time that Mr. Gillespie should be allowed to state his own *à priori* argument. It will not be possible to extract the whole course of his reasoning in support of his proposition, since that extends to some twenty-six pages, but we shall lay before our readers the scheme of the demonstration as the author has himself presented it.

## DIVISION I.

### PART I.

- PROPOSITION. I. Infinity of Extension is necessarily existing.  
 II. Infinity of Extension is necessarily indivisible.  
 III. There is necessarily a being of infinity of extension.  
 IV. The being of infinity of extension is necessarily of *unity and simplicity*.  
 V. There is necessarily but one being of infinity of expansion.

### PART II.

- PROPOS. I. Infinity of duration is, necessarily, *existing*.  
 II. Infinity of duration is necessarily *indivisible*.  
 III. There is necessarily a being of infinity of duration.  
 IV. The being of infinity of duration is, necessarily, of *unity and simplicity*.  
 V. There is, necessarily, *but one* being of infinity of duration.

### PART III.

- PROPOS. I. There is necessarily, a *being* of infinity of expansion, and infinity of duration.  
 II. The being of infinity of expansion and infinity of duration is, necessarily, of *unity and simplicity*.  
 III. There is necessarily, *but one* being of infinity of expansion and infinity of duration.

## DIVISION II.

## PART I.

PROPOS. The simple, sole, being of infinity of expansion and of duration, is, necessarily, *Intelligent and All-knowing*.

## PART II.

PROPOS. The simple, sole being of infinity of expansion and of duration, who is all-knowing, is necessarily, *all powerful*.

## PART III.

PROPOS. The simple sole being of infinity of expansion and of duration, who is all-knowing, and all-powerful, is, *necessarily, free*.

## DIVISION III.

PROPOS. The simple sole, being of infinity of expansion and of duration, who is all-knowing, all-powerful, and entirely free, is necessarily, *completely happy*.

SUB PROPOS. The simple, sole being of infinity of expansion and of duration, who is all-knowing, all-powerful, entirely free and completely happy is necessarily *perfectly good*.

This series of propositions is arranged with considerable ability and argued mostly with much acuteness. If it shall be found to bear the test of the metaphysicians, and in all the links of the chain be proved inseparable, the author will have accomplished an invaluable service to the cause of theism—and though the age, which has little taste for such ratiocination, should fail to do him justice, yet his Argument will live and he shall reap his reward.

It can hardly be said that the work has yet attracted that attention, at least in England, which the importance of the subject demands; nor is this to be wondered at—the atheists of course will not give it publicity, since it has discomfited their brethren of the north—and to the mass of Christian readers, the perusal of such an elaborate treatise would be an irksome as well as a needless task. There are, however, as Mr. Gillespie hints, exceptions to the general rule of superficiality:—and ‘no age receives those impressions which are to be lasting, and to influence the sentiments of posterity, from any but the more profound thinkers.’

The truth of this observation has been well illustrated in that eminent man Bishop Butler whose remarkable sentence, which we shall immediately quote, has, if we mistake not, supplied the germ of the *à priori* argument which is now on its trial. In the fifth letter to Dr. Samuel Clarke, at the end of the volume containing his demonstration, are to be found the following words—‘but did it plainly appear that they (viz. space and



duration) were properties of a substance, we should have an easy way with the atheists, for it would at once prove demonstrably an eternal, necessary, self-existent being; that there is *but one* such; and that he is needful to the existence of all other things.' The writer proceeds—'which makes me think that though it *may* be *true*, yet it is not obvious to every capacity, otherwise it would have been generally used, as a fundamental argument to prove the being of a God:—'he had previously said 'I must own my ignorance, that I am really at a loss about the nature of *space and duration*.'

Those of our readers who will now refer back to Mr. Gillespie's *First Division*, Part i. will perceive that he has essayed to prove, from our necessary conception of the infinity and indivisibility of space or extension, the existence of a being of infinite extension, and that it is on his third proposition that the whole strength of his argument depends. His demonstration runs thus;

'1.—Either infinity of extension subsists, or (which is at bottom the same thing) we conceive it to subsist, without a support or substratum: or, it subsists not, or, (which is the same thing) we conceive it not to subsist, without a support or substratum.

'*First*, If infinity of extension subsists without a substratum, then it is a *substance*. And if any one should deny, that it is a substance, it so subsisting; to prove beyond contradiction the utter absurdity of such denial, we have but to defy him to show, *why* infinity of extension is not a substance, *so far forth as it can subsist by itself without a substratum*.

As, therefore, it is a contradiction to deny that infinity of extension exists, (Prop. i. § 3.) so there is, on the supposition of its being able to subsist without a substratum, a *substance* or *being* of infinity of extension necessarily existing, though infinity of extension, and the being of infinity of extension are *not different*, as standing to each other in the relation of mode and subject of the mode, but are identical.

'*Secondly*. If infinity of extension subsist not without a substratum, then, it being a contradiction to deny there is infinity of extension (Prop. i. § 3.) it is a contradiction to deny there is a substratum to it.

'Whether or not men will consent to call this substratum, *substance* or *being*, is of very little consequence. For, 'tis certain that the word *substance* or *being* has never been employed, can never be employed, to stand for anything better entitled to the application of the term, than the substratum of infinity of extension. But to refuse to give such substratum that name, *being a thing obviously most unreasonable*, let us call the substratum of infinity of extension, by the name *substance* or *being*.

'There is, then, necessarily, a being of infinity of extension.

The author goes through a similar train of reasoning in Part ii. concerning infinity of duration, coming to a parallel conclusion 'there is then of necessity a being of infinity of duration'—and but one—he then unites these two conclusions in his third part

—and proceeds to complete his work by connecting with his previous inferences *intelligence*—almightiness—entire freedom—happiness and goodness. The peculiarity of our author's work, consists in representing infinite expansion or infinity of expansion and duration as properties of God. This was the doctrine maintained by Clarke, and contested by Leibnitz in the correspondence which was published. So that, in fact, with the exception of the concise and logical form into which Mr. Gillespie has reduced the argument, and the more orderly and graceful edifice into which he has shaped his materials, we find nothing new. The solidity of the whole is quite another matter. The question to which Butler alludes in the passage we have cited, shows how incapable that distinguished man felt himself, of forming any decisive opinion of the nature of space and duration; and assuredly the long and subtle controversy between Clarke and Leibnitz has not relieved us of our difficulties. It is with extreme reluctance we insinuate any hesitation in admitting Mr. Gillespie's demonstration—but we should be still more reluctant to admit, what his argument requires—that infinite space and duration are *properties* of the infinite being. If finite space and finite duration cannot with any propriety be contemplated as properties of finite beings, though all finite beings have an essential relation to them, we cannot imagine how infinite space and infinite duration can be described as properties of the deity. It is very possible to rebut the observation by demanding if space and duration are not properties of the infinite being, what are they? It is very easy to adapt the metaphysical axiom to space, and say, it must be either a substratum or the quality of a substratum—because so our science distributes the objects of our thought—but yet it is true, that our metaphysics have not yet determined whether space can be classed under either category. Mr. Gillespie has made up his mind upon the subject, but he knows perfectly well that the philosophers are not few who are in the predicament of Butler—at a loss to determine the nature of space and duration—because every theory that has been started concerning them leaves us in apparently insurmountable difficulties.

We waive many minor exceptions to Mr. Gillespie's reasoning, which have occurred to us in reading his book. Sometimes we think he has inadvertently called in *à posteriori* reasoning—As for instance in the proof that the material universe is finite in extension, p. 14, he appears to us to depend entirely upon our *experience*:—our observation that some parts of the material universe are divisible from each other, is made the basis for the inference, that all the parts are in the same predicament—and this is the conclusion, he says, to which, by the rules of philo-



sophy, we are entitled to come.' That may be admitted—but still this is not *à priori* reasoning—it is a little bit of inductive philosophy. There are other similar instances of the mixture of reasoning which has been charged upon most of the *à priori* demonstrations.

We have read the work with more than usual interest, and with the sincere wish to find every step of the demonstration as clear and unimpeachable as any in geometry—but we stumbled at the outset over his fundamental propositions, and though we have endeavoured to reconcile our minds to the proof that infinite space is a property of God, yet we have not succeeded in the attempt. We do not pronounce the argument bad—but we yet lack the knowledge which might enable us to take that step at which Butler halted—and which we believe has never yet been made firm. The work of Mr. Gillespie, however, displays both ingenuity and logical acuteness in no ordinary degree. It deserves the closest attention and will supply matter for the profoundest thought. As an exercise for minds of a metaphysical turn, we heartily recommend it. Many, we have no doubt, will deem it a clear accession to our rational theology, and should it only succeed in silencing gainsayers and confirming believers, it will have accomplished an important end.

The attempted 'Refutation' by the atheists of Glasgow, if we may judge by the chapter which professes to point out Mr. Gillespie's *fallacies*, though evidently the work of a subtle mind, is anything but a fair and manly attempt to face the argument. It is made up of evasion, sophistry and banter. The writer repeatedly contradicts himself, and is no match for Mr. Gillespie either in metaphysical acumen or in erudition. The Examination of the Refutation is as complete a demolition of an adversary, and as fine a piece of criticism, in point of power, as can be met with in modern times. Indeed, with a few exceptions, we should say that this is the most instructive and interesting part of the book. Mr. Gillespie possesses a peculiar tact for discovering the defects and fallacies of other writers. No man has more completely exposed the unsoundness of many of Hume's most formidable arguments, than Mr. Gillespie, and at the same time he has not hesitated to reprove, perhaps rather too sharply, the unsound reasoning of many of the friends of theism. Doctor Watts, Robert Hall, and many others, the reader will find handled with very little ceremony. We should have been more gratified with the work had it been distinguished by less of the spirit of boastful self-confidence, and more of the meekness of wisdom. Metaphysical theology after all is a two-edged sword. It requires in its use no little caution and experience. The greater the courage with which it is wielded, the greater the



danger of self-destruction or of mischief. Mysteries impenetrable seem to encircle the confines of our knowledge in every department. We often imagine that we see land at a distance, and we carry forward the frontiers of our own territory somewhat further, or think we do ; but still we have neither dissipated the clouds, nor exhausted the mystery which defied our vision, and still defies it. The observation applies not exclusively to such subjects as the present. It belongs to what we call the clearest of our sciences, and the most perfect of our demonstrations. You can prove nothing without assuming what cannot be proved—by reasoning—what is a simple matter of consciousness—and then you must proceed to define impossible facts, which are mere imaginary assumptions. Poor human reason ! Well may it droop its head, not only before the mysteries of the universe and its Creator, but when it contemplates the imperfection of its own work, and the insignificance of its own efforts.

Mr. Gillespie will, we trust, give us credit for having read his work with attention and interest. If we have not felt quite secure in following him in some of his propositions, he will perceive that at least we have high authority for our hesitation. We have been anxious to do him justice, and should even be glad to discover the soundness of his argument. Its solidity once established would set at rest the controversy with the athiests. And he may be sure we should rejoice to see them all placed in the position of the Zetetic Society at Glasgow. We sincerely trust that his work may command the attention it deserves. Every theologian is not a metaphysician, but there are many whose previous studies qualify them for the reading of the present work ; and to their attention we cordially commend it, with the confident assurance that they will not regret its perusal, or even its re-perusal.

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- Art. VIII.—1. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*. 1846. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton.
2. *The Sacred Gift; a series of Meditations upon Scripture Subjects, with twenty highly finished engravings, after celebrated paintings by eminent masters*. Second Series. By the Rev. Charles B. Taylor, M.A., author of 'May you like it,' &c. 4to.
3. *Fisher's Juvenile Scrap Book*. 1846. By the author of 'The Women of England.'
4. *China, in a Series of Views, displaying the Scenery, Architecture, and Social Habits of that ancient empire*. Drawn from original and authentic sketches by Thomas Allom, Esq.. With Historical and Descriptive Notices by the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Vol. 4.
4. *France Illustrated*. Drawings by Thomas Allom, Esq. Descriptions by the Rev. G. N. Wright. Divisions, I—III. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

WE are reminded of the approach of Christmas, with all its pleasures and social convivialities, by the appearance of these beautiful volumes, as gifts for the season. They come to us this year in their usually elegant garb, introducing us by their attractive embellishments to foreign lands, in which it has not been the privilege of some of us domestics to travel; amusing, and, in some cases, instructing us by their varied and interesting details; and at the same time assisting to renovate the ornaments of our drawing-room table, by taking the place of their predecessors, whose dress has been somewhat injured by the constant wear of a year.

From our long intimacy with *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, we are naturally induced to cast on it our first glance; and we confess ourselves somewhat disappointed at not again meeting its gifted editor of last year, the author of 'the Women of England.' We felt great confidence and satisfaction in the compilation of the work being in the hands of Mrs Ellis, from the moral healthfulness which is uniformly diffused through all her writings. Still we must not be understood as wishing to depreciate the literary competence of the editor of the present volume. The Hon. Mrs. Norton is justly esteemed for the delicacy, imagination, and music of her poetry; which as devoted to the deep soul stirring and tender affections, is specially appropriate to the pen of a woman. In the volume before us we have some beautiful specimens of her descriptive powers, in illustration of engravings which admirably depict to the English reader the scenes and architecture of foreign lands:—

'Again, new scenes from other lands,  
Lie spread before you, brightly fair.

We must content ourselves with one extract, the length of which completely exhausts our limited space. It is illustrated by a beautifully soft landscape by Mr. Bartlett, of Bingen on the Rhine.

## BINGEN.

- A soldier of the Legion, lay dying in Algiers,  
 There was lack of woman's nursing, there was dearth of woman's tears ;  
 But a comrade stood beside him, while his life blood ebbed away,  
 And bent, with pitying glances, to hear what he might say.  
 The dying soldier faltered, as he took that comrade's hand,  
 And he said, ' I never more shall see my own, my native land ;  
 Take a message, and a token, to some distant friend of mine,  
 For I was born at Bingen,—at Bingen on the Rhine.
  
  - Tell my brothers and companions, when they meet and crowd around,  
 To hear my mournful story in the pleasant vineyard ground ;  
 That we fought the battle bravely, and when the day was done,  
 Full many a corse lay ghastly pale, beneath the setting sun.  
 And 'midst the dead and dying, were some grown old in wars,—  
 The death-wound on their gallant breasts, the last of many scars :  
 But some were young, and suddenly beheld life's morn decline,  
 And one had come from Bingen, fair Bingen on the Rhine.
  
  - Tell my mother, that her other sons shall comfort her old age,  
 And I was still a truant bird, that thought his home a cage :  
 For my father was a soldier, and even as a child  
 My heart leaped forth to hear him tell of struggles fierce and wild ;  
 And when he died, and left us to divide his scanty hoard,  
 I let them take whate'er they would, but kept my father's sword ;  
 And with boyish love I hung it where the bright light used to shine,  
 On the cottage-wall at Bingen, calm Bingen on the Rhine.
- \* \* \* \*
- There's another—not a sister ;—in the happy days gone by,  
 You'd have known her by the merriment that sparkled in her eye ;  
 Too innocent for coquetry,—too fond for idle scanning,—  
 Oh ! friend, I fear the lightest heart makes sometimes heaviest  
 mourning !  
 Tell her—the last night of my life—(for ere this moon be risen,  
 My body will be out of pain, my soul be out of prison)  
 I dreamed I stood with her, and saw the yellow sunlight shine  
 On the vine-clad hills of Bingen, fair Bingen on the Rhine !
  
  - I saw the blue Rhine sweep along—I heard, or seemed to hear.  
 The German songs we used to sing, in chorus sweet and clear ;  
 And down the pleasant river, and up the slanting hill,  
 That echoing chorus sounded, through the evening calm and still :  
 And her glad blue eyes were on me, as we passed with friendly talk,  
 Down many a path beloved of yore, and well-remembered walk ;  
 And her little hand lay lightly, confidingly, in mine,—  
 But we'll meet no more at Bingen, loved Bingen on the Rhine !'



His voice grew faint and hoarser,—his grasp was childish weak,—  
 His eyes put on a dying look,—he sighed and ceased to speak :  
 His comrade bent to lift him, but the spark of life had fled,—  
 The soldier of the legion in a foreign land was dead !  
 And the soft moon rose up slowly, and calmly she looked down  
 On the red sand of the battle-field, with bloody corpses strown ;  
 Yea, calmly on that dreadful scene her pale light seemed to shine,  
 As it shone on distant Bingen,—Fair Bingen on the Rhine !'

The plates, which are thirty-six in number, are distinguished by variety and beauty, although they cannot boast of originality. That of the Chinese Opium Smokers is truly appalling. The views on the Rhine, Florence, and Italy, are pleasing, and Jephtha's daughter but too painfully reminds us of the grief of the father for the haste of his vow.

*The Sacred Gift*, by the Rev. Charles B. Taylor, is got up with much care, and is distinguished by admirable feeling. It consists of papers, or meditations in prose and verse, on sacred subjects, by the editor, Henry Raikes, Joseph Baylee, Canon Slade, Hugh Stowell, R. C. Evans, and Hugh M'Neale, all clergymen of the church of England, and is intended, the editor tells us, for 'those readers to whom subjects of a less sacred character would not be acceptable.' There is nothing sectarian in the volume ; a religious spirit breathes throughout it ; yet we must confess ourselves somewhat opposed to this class of pious Annuals for the boudoir, as inconsistent in form and purpose. The embellishments agree in subject with the prose and verse illustrations, and are selected from Fisher's Family Bible. We find it difficult to give our readers a specimen of its contents, as the pieces are most of them very long. We must therefore merely transcribe a beautiful hymn, which is characteristic of the spirit diffused throughout the volume.

#### HYMN.

- ' How blessed are the sons of light !  
 Though poor on earth, and ill at ease,  
 The path of faith and not of sight,  
 Is that of pleasantness and peace.
- ' Loud laughter and the idle jest  
 May rise amid the ungodly throng,  
 But calm content, and holy rest,  
 To pilgrims of the cross belong.
- ' In thee, sweet Source of heavenly peace,  
 All fresh and living springs are found ;  
 And the deep well knows no decrease,  
 From whence those gladdening springs abound.

- ' What though the vain and worldly deem  
The way of God a desert rude,  
Green pastures and the tranquil stream  
Are found in that sweet solitude.
- ' There the good Shepherd loves to lead,  
In noontide heat, His little flock ;  
There they repose, and there they feed,  
Beneath the shadow of the Rock.
- ' Fearless of harm, to that clear spring  
The dove descends, her wandering o'er,  
Laves in the stream her weary wing,  
Nor leaves the quiet shelter more.
- ' Thou God of grace, and peace, and love !  
Teach me to find that region blest ;  
Oh for the pinions of the dove,  
To flee away and be at rest !

' *The Juvenile Scrap Book*,' says Mrs. Ellis, ' embellished with the usual number and variety of engravings, is again offered to the notice of her young friends, whose kind welcome to the preceding volumes of this elegant work, leads her to hope that their hearts not unfrequently go with her, in the pleasing task of preparing it for the amusement of their winter evenings.' We certainly feel warranted in congratulating the editor on her present attempt, and do not recollect that she has ever before presented herself to our youth in an aspect more engaging, or better calculated to improve or interest them, than in the present volume, which contains sixteen engravings executed with sufficient taste and skill to satisfy and enchant the readers for whom the work is intended. The vignette is a landscape in the country, where, seated under the shade of some trees, is a rural and happy family, consisting of three generations. It is entitled ' The Sparkling Draught,' to which is appended the following appropriate stanzas.

#### THE SPARKLING DRAUGHT.

The sparkling draught that fills thy glass,  
Kind stranger, freely sip ;  
'Tis not like some that sweetly pass,  
But have a poisoned lip.

That sparkling draught springs where the leaves  
In green luxuriance grow ;  
The wild-rose there her garland weaves,  
And hair-bells droop below.

Deep through yon grove its crystal tide,  
With song and music goes ;  
The wild-bird builds her nest beside  
And warbles where it flows.

No aching brow, no frenzied eye,  
Bend o'er that sylvan stream ;  
The heavens above—the bright blue sky—  
The star's reflected beam.

Within that fountain pure and deep  
Dark fearful forms live not ;  
But silent dews at night-fall weep  
Bright tears around that spot.

Kissed by the opening flowers of spring,  
Fed by soft-falling showers,  
Deem not that fresh'ning draught can bring  
Sad thoughts for after-hours.

The sparkling glass will cool thy lip,  
Nor wake one pulse but joy ;  
Drink then, kind stranger—freely sip  
Sweet draughts without alloy.

We have perused the fourth volume of *China, its Architecture, &c.*, with great pleasure, and find in it as much to interest and instruct, as in the three former volumes. We decidedly prefer it to many of our gifts for the season, inasmuch as it has a purpose which will place it on the library shelf when its exhibition in the drawing-room ceases. Its engravings are exquisite and original, thirty-two in number, introducing us to scenes of which we know comparatively little. They are executed in the same style, and display the same elegance, as we have already noted in the former volumes of the work.

*France Illustrated.* This is a similar work to the preceding, and will be equally acceptable to all lovers of the fine arts. The engravings, which are numerous, are exceedingly beautiful, and many of them are executed in the first style, whilst the descriptive matter familiarizes the reader with some of the most interesting points of French history, natural scenery, architectural structure, and social life. The work is issued in monthly and quarterly parts, the former at two, and the latter at six shillings each, and unites in an unusual degree the attractions of an Annual with the more permanent qualities of a descriptive and historical volume.



Art. IX.—*The League.* Nov. 15, 1845.

ANOTHER heave has been given to the progress of the Corn-Law question, by circumstances which man cannot regulate, but on the occurrence of which or something similar, he was as much bound to calculate, as sea-going man is to be provided with the means of reefing his sails, in the knowledge that though none can foretell the precise period of a gale, a gale at some time is in the first class of certainties. A failure has been announced in the potatoe crop; thus reducing the numerous class who in the language of ecclesiastical dignitaries 'rejoice in potatoes,' to try what they can make of mortifying upon wheaten flour, after the counsels of that celebrated French princess who said, that sooner than die like the people who starved for want of bread, she would live on macaroons. And this is backed up by continually accumulating reports, that the wheat harvest in most parts of the country is defective either in quantity or quality, and that the other countries of Europe, with the unimportant exception of Denmark, are suffering under at least a *jealousy* of short supply.

The parties responsible for the scrape into which we are partly brought and worse threatened, maintain stiffly that the reports are exaggerated. It may be conceded, for the advancement of the argument, that of course to some extent they are. Wherever there is an interest in making out a case, the most will be made of anything that favours it; and the people of this country have a fearful interest in diminishing the danger which has been brought on by the visible act of governors, and if possible preventing its recurrence. But if there be suspicion of exaggeration against one side, there is the same against the other; the two therefore may pair off. Either there is danger or there is not. Either, to take the most prominent feature, there is a failure in the crop of the 'coarser kind of food,' or else potatoes are flourishing unscathed by curl at the top or the black death at the bottom. To remove a part of the impression by fine writing, may be possible; but to remove the whole, must be of the last stage of impossibility. There is less food than our governors meant there should be; and the question is not of altering what is unalterable and re-instating us in the previous position, but of allowing remedy to leak in by such chinks and crannies as the ingenuity of our rulers has not availed entirely to cut off.

And here it is that our quarter-deck people have contrived to move a step towards the solution of the question. A belief is

clearly among the crew, that a gale of wind is coming on, and a winter's night in prospect makes it doubly important to prepare. Of the officers some take one side and some the other; but there is shrewdly surmised to be an interest among them in keeping things as they are. In some way or other the sensibility of their breeches' pockets is suspected to be involved in denying the danger, and carrying sail through all, though at the risk of sending the masts over the side, when they are supposed to count upon having the boats at their disposal, and escaping the destruction which is to fall on the ignoble herd. In this state of things the chief mate,—(for the captain is too great a personage to have anything personally to say to it, nor would much difference be made by the fact if it took place,)—the chief mate holds a council,—half a dozen councils,—hour after hour of precious time expended on each. By this he recognizes to the fullest extent, that there is a popular belief,—a creed among the unaccounted vulgar who are to go to the bottom in the event of ill success without a boat to help them,—that a gale is close at hand. Knots of the crew are seen collected here and there, handling the ropes which lead to reefing sails, and the word from time to time passes among them that the chief mate is only waiting to hear what this and another gentleman has to say against it, and then he is going to the captain to say it must be done.

In this position of things, what does our Palinurus, chief of all with the exception of the seed of the gods that tenants the state cabin, finally decide on? He decides, that though the growling of the coming storm is not reduced but heightened, and without a shadow of reason to show except that the gentlemen do not like it, he will say we will go on as we are, and if the gale comes and all effort at taking in a reef is too late, we will read the Prayer for Fair Weather as by law established, and put the officers into the boats when the rest must clearly go down.

Now nobody can say, that the chief officer who did this, had not (with exception always of the present peril) done the likeliest or rather the most certain thing, to bring on such a searching into the principle concerned, as can end in only one way, and that with a vengeance of effectiveness which must satisfy the most ardent wisher. If the thing does not come to a conclusion now, it will be tried again; it will be tried therefore till the conclusion comes. If the chances of present death and misery could be set out of sight, a hearty hater of the evil principle and half a dozen other evil principles incidentally involved, might joy rather than grieve over the decision of the man whose word is law.

In this state of being 'doubly armed,' and with the certainty that the abolition of restrictions on the provision of food must come hereafter because it does not come now, it is time for those to be looking about them, who are the enemies not only of the evil principle immediately concerned, but of other evil principles which hang by it and own a common origin. In public questions, which can only be settled by the gradual preponderance of opinion under whatever disadvantages expressed, there is very little use in the concealment which may be prudence in more limited concerns. The adversary 'knows his strength, and we know ours.' Lord Ashley's declaration is decisive on this point. Instead of being an indication of personal weakness, as in some quarters unwisely intimated, it was the cool declaration of a good officer, taking a leader's view of the field, and counselling the taking up of the inferior position, because the higher was no longer tenable. Such a moment was no time for discussing the principles of a cause; all men are supposed to have made up their minds on these, before they present themselves to a contest. A good leader does not request his followers to throw themselves into a gulph because their cause is good; he does what is much more likely to be of use, desires them to take up a contracted position which he points out. The time then seems come, when, as Mause Headrigg invited the Life Guards under Claverhouse in their retreat, the enemy may be called upon to 'tarry,' and be in no hurry to get away from the consequences of his defeat. There is more to be done with him, before he is quit; why will he not stand like a man, and defend his grand position, or else quietly give up the others which will be found to hang by it? The corn laws were not merely enactments for finding portions for the ruling classes' daughters; they were the banner, the cockade, the representative by concentration, of their general right of wrong. If it is once discovered that the ruling classes cannot keep their corn laws, a host of questions they 'may not look upon,' will be gathering fast about them, each grimmer and more abhorrent to them than its predecessor. Nothing is more certain than that the maintenance of wrongs at large, depends on the invulnerability of each particular one. The boy who would not say *A* because he knew he should be asked to say *B*, is the true and only type for the policy of wrong-doers. Why not hold out a little longer? Is it not plain that the corn laws are in the fact of being surrendered, and legions of strange aspect, leaving no hope to the claimants of the marriage portions but from their quarrelling with one another, are standing on the slip for the first entry at the breach that shall be made? If the monopoly of the bread that perishes cannot maintain



itself, what sanctuary can be depended on, where the suffering genius of wrong may hide the sorrows of her pocket and her heart?

If the losers by the other injustices have not bestirred themselves vigorously before, it was perhaps because the time was not come, and may be no argument against their vigour now. The League which has been the *malleus*, the *marteau* as military men who prefer French would have it, the sledge-hammer which struck the actual blow, has rightly proclaimed itself of no colour in politics or any of the strifes in which men are engaged except its own. Like the rays of light which combine all the hues in the rainbow, the League was white. It was precisely because all kinds were there, that this result ensued. One only reservation, entire or partial, can be assigned. The League was always the most deficient in what may be denominated the popular voice; meaning thereby the voice of the class who cannot help themselves, and do not always know when anybody else will help them. Active measures had been taken to produce this effect, and had been too successful. The knowledge of the fact is not confined to its friends; and when 'the leading journal' \* undertakes to lecture the League on the leaning it asserts to have been shown towards Radicals and Destructives, the inference is only that it sees the quarter from which the accession of strength is to arise. It dreads the infusion of popular blood. It knows the thing will not be done without the rank-and-file. Wait till the chief mate has laid the ship on its beam-ends. At Birmingham there sat at a mess-table what were or ought to have been the five hundred officers of Birmingham's hundred thousand; but whether these captains of two-hundreds left their companies in an equal state of intelligence and exaltation, does not substantially appear. One thing however is certain, that the League can keep nobody out. By its constitution it can refuse no volunteers. If the whole multitude whom the great call 'swinish,' choose to present themselves and give, not take, the enlisting shilling, they must be provided with forage and quarters, and have as good a pig-trough as anybody else. But what is true of one is true of another; no man can be prevented from uniting with the League, because his views are not supposed to be limited to cakes and ale. The League, with vast resources in possession and almost boundless ones behind, has made an inroad into the fortress of misrule, and as regards the county registration, may be said to have recovered the Constitution. Not a man who has an honest purpose, but may take advantage of the expensive machinery here established to his hand, and march in to take

\* *Times*, 18 Nov.

his own share of the recovered power, if he can only stomach cheap bread as an accompaniment. It is, therefore, for all that conceive themselves wronged, to make a part in the movement; and if they do not, they are not men who know how to shut their mouth when a good thing is put into it. There may be battles after the battle of Armageddon; but a man will not be the worse for having been there, and on the right side. Of course when the League has gained its point, there will be a great breaking-up into a multiplicity of directions;—Ptolemies of all kinds, parcelling out the empire of the defunct Alexander. But nothing is clearer than that they will have gained by the previous union, and not lost. Darius then, must settle his affairs with the Macedonian as he can; and when that scene of the play is played, his successors may count on finding the Ptolemies in positions of their own.

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### Brief Notices.

*The Pilgrim's Progress, from this world to that which is to come.*

By John Bunyan. With two hundred and seventy engravings from entirely new designs. 8vo., and foolscap 8vo. London, Bagster.

*The Pilgrim's Progress, from Earth to Heaven.* In two Parts. An Epic Poem. The first part by the Rev. George Burder, and the second by the Author of 'Scripture Truths in Verse.' Foolscap 8vo. Bagster.

*The Life of John Bunyan, written by himself, and published under the title of 'Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners.' With the addition of some particulars on his examination before his committal to prison, and a continuation to the time he joined good Christian in glory.* Foolscap 8vo. Bagster.

The name of Messrs. Bagster will be a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy and beauty of these volumes. We are glad to see them on our table, and take an early opportunity of introducing them to our readers. The numerous editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress* which have been issued, attest the truthfulness of the work, and its permanent value; whilst they constitute a cheering indication of the healthful state of the public mind. The peculiarity of the editions now before us, one of which is in demy, and the other in foolscap 8vo., consists in the engravings with which they are richly illustrated. These are from entirely new designs, are two hundred and seventy in number, small in size, but executed, in many cases, with considerable spirit and effect. To the young reader, especially, they will prove invaluable, as serving to imprint more deeply on the mind the pro-

minent points of the narrative, and through them the great truths which the allegory is designed to enforce. They are in truth 'pictures whose tale is self told,' the embodiment of Bunyan's own beautiful thoughts. The price of these editions, considering the number of illustrations, is decidedly low, the larger one being published at 7s.6d. and the smaller one at 3s.6d.

Of the poetical version we shall say nothing more than that those who think the idiomatic prose of Bunyan may be improved, cannot supply themselves with a neater or better edition than that before us. For ourselves, we are free to confess that we entertain no such notion, but shrink from the mere attempt to versify as something like profanation.

*The Life of Bunyan, written by Himself*, will be read with deep interest by all who are concerned to understand the workings of a powerful and imaginative mind in the earlier stages of its religious life. Bunyan's experience, however, must not be made a precedent.

*Life of Lorenzo De Medici, called the Magnificent.* By William Roscoe. With a Memoir of the Author. London: David Bogue.

*The European Library*, of which this volume constitutes the first, is another of those efforts which mark the literary character of our age, as full of promise. In former times books were the luxury of the rich, and only few, even of them, cared about the expensive indulgence. Times are happily changed now, and the best productions of our first authors are brought within the means of the great mass of our countrymen. The *European Library* is admirably planned in this respect. It is to consist of volumes of from 450 to 500 pages, printed in a good and legible type, on paper of the best quality. Each work will be edited by a gentleman conversant with the subject to which it is devoted, and where necessary a memoir and index will be supplied. The price of each volume is to be three shillings and sixpence, constituting the series, as stated by the prospectus, the cheapest 'ever published in this or any other country.'

'A peculiar feature of the *European Library*,' we are informed, 'will be the works of the chief historians of literature—the Wartons, the Tiraboschis, the Sismondis, the Bouterweks, the Guinguenés. The works of these and some other writers in the same charming class, will, for the first time, be presented to the English reader in a popular form and at a popular price, with illustrations from such productions in the same department as may be deemed necessary to give it a complete form.'

The series is appropriately commenced with Mr. Roscoe's chief production, which is enriched by a brief memoir of the author, and rendered more popular by a translation of the Latin, Italian, and French notes, and some other alterations, which are briefly detailed in Mr. Hazlitt's advertisement. We cordially recommend the work to our readers, as adapted to unite, in a greater degree than is usual,



the entertaining and the instructive,—what is solid and valuable, with whatever is attractive in historical or literary research.

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*The Modern Orator. The Speeches of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan.* 8vo. London: Aylott and Jones.

WE are glad to report the satisfactory progress of this work, and shall be happy if our recommendation contributes to its more extensive circulation. Such a publication has long been called for; and the cheap and popular form in which it is here produced, leaves nothing in this respect at least to be desired. We could wish a more liberal illustration in the way of notes; and, as formerly intimated, should have been glad of connecting links between the speeches of the several orators who constituted the glory of the Commons House, at the close of the past and the commencement of the present year; but in the absence of these, we receive with thanks the present publication, and strongly recommend it to our readers. Sheridan's Speeches are included in five parts, which may be had, stitched together, for three shillings and four-pence, and we trust that the publishers will be so supported as to encourage them to proceed to the completion of their original design. A cheap issue of *these masterpieces of English oratory* has long been needed, and much good must result from their extensive diffusion. Lord Erskine's speeches follow those of Sheridan.

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*Sacred Biography, illustrative of Man's Threefold State, the Present, the Intermediate, and the Future.* By J. Smith, M.A. Glasgow: George Gallie.

AN interesting little volume, in which the more familiar facts of the histories chosen are related, in connexion with inferences from the scattered hints and indications to be found elsewhere in Scripture. These are sometimes fanciful, but always vary and enliven the narrative in a way which will attract the young; and should serve the further purpose of inciting them to a thorough collation of the Sacred Writings for themselves. The concluding lectures, as abounding less in figure and apostrophe, we prefer to the earlier ones.

It is necessary, in explanation of the full title, to say, that there are supplementary chapters on the Intermediate State, on the Resurrection, and on the Nature and Duration of the Future Existence of Man, which do credit to the author's diligence and discrimination.

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### Literary Intelligence.

*Just Published.*

The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia. 2 vols. 8vo. From the German.

Eight Sermons, preached in St. Pancras Church. With an Appendix. By the Rev. G. S. Drew, B.A.

Elements of Mental and Moral Science. By George Payne, LL.D. 3rd Edition, enlarged.

Proceedings of the Anti-Maynooth Conference of 1845. With an Historical Introduction, and an Appendix. Compiled and edited (at the request of the Central Anti-Maynooth Committee) by the Rev. A. S. Thelwall, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Knight's Books of Reference. Political Dictionary; forming a Work of Universal Reference, both constitutional and legal; and embracing the Terms of Civil Administration, of Political Economy and Social Relations; and of all the more important Statistical Departments of Finance and Commerce. Part 9. Second Half.

The Palace of Fantasy; or, the Bard's Imagery. With other Poems. By J. S. Hardy.

The Modern Orator. Being a Collection of Celebrated Speeches of the most distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom. Part 11. Erskine. Part 3.

Cobbin's Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures. Parts 20 and 21.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part 10.

Adventures in the Pacific; with Observations on the Natural Productions, Manners and Customs of the Natives of the various Islands; together with Remarks on Missionaries, British and other Residents, &c. &c. By John Coulter, M.D.

Tentamen Anti-Straussianum. The Antiquity of the Gospels asserted on Philological Grounds, in Refutation of the Mythic Scheme of Dr. David Frederick Strauss. An Argument. By Orlando T. Dobbin, LL.D.

Bells and Pomegranates. No. 7. Dramatic Romances and Lyrics. By Robert Browning.

The English Hexapla, consisting of the Six Important Translations of the New Testament Scriptures. Part 3.

The Churches of the United Kingdom. Edited by Alexander Leighton. Vol. 1. The Scottish Church.

The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly represented: in Answer to a Book entitled "A Papist Misrepresented and Represented." By Edward Stillingfleet, D.D. With a Preface and Notes, by William Cunningham, D.D. A new Edition, revised.

History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D.D. Vol. 1.

The Juvenile Missionary Keepsake. 1846. Edited by the Writer of "Madagascar and its Martyrs," &c.

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book, for 1846. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton.

The Sacred Gift. Second Series. Meditations upon Scripture Subjects, with Twenty highly-finished Engravings after celebrated Paintings by the great Masters. By the Rev. Charles B. Taylor, M.A.

China, in a Series of Views, displaying the Scenery, Architecture, and Social Habits of that ancient Empire. Drawn from original and authentic Sketches by Thomas Allom, Esq. With Historical and Descriptive Notices by the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Vol. 4.

The Juvenile Scrap Book. By Mrs. Ellis. 1846.

France. Illustrated with Drawings by Thomas Allom, Esq. Descriptions by the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. Divisions 1—3.

Temper and Temperament; or Varieties of Character. By the Author of the "Women of England," &c. Embellished with Engravings from original Designs. Parts 1—5.

The Maxims of Francis Guicciardini. Translated by Emma Martin. With Parallel Passages from the Works of Machiavelli, Lord Bacon, Pascal, Rochefaucault, Montesquieu, Mr. Burke, Prince Talleyrand, M. Guizot, and others.

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